



FIRST STATE HOUSE, CORYDON, SAID TO HAVE BEEN ERECTED
IN 1811-12 NOW OWNED BY THE STATE

HISTORY OF INDIANA

HISTORY *of* INDIANA

FROM ITS EXPLORATION TO 1922

BY

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ALSO

AN ACCOUNT OF VIGO COUNTY

FROM ITS ORGANIZATION

EDITED BY

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER XXII INDIANA IN THE FIFTIES

97	THE CHURCHES	573
98	HOME LIFE	576
99	WEALTH	585
100	DRESS	586
101	SOCIETY	587
102	MORALS	589
103	PUBLIC HEALTH	591
104	SOCIAL GATHERING	592
105	TRAVEL	596
106	MENTAL TRAITS	600
107	ILLITERACY AND POPULATION.....	604

CHAPTER XXIII CIVIL WAR POLITICS

108	SLAVERY	610
109	TEMPERANCE	613
110	KNOW NOTHINGS	619
111	SWAMP LANDS	621
112	UNDERGROUND RAILROAD	623
113	IMMIGRATION	629
114	WOMAN'S RIGHTS	632
115	ELECTION OF 1854.....	634
116	REPUBLICAN PARTY	639
117	CAMPAIGN OF 1856.....	642
118	ELECTION OF 1860.....	650
119	PARTISANSHIP AND PATRIOTISM.....	665
120	CONFESSION OF SECESSION.....	667
121	BREAKDOWN OF STATE GOVERNMENT...	676

CHAPTER XXIV THE COMMON SCHOOLS

122	EARLY CONDITIONS	679
123	CREATING SCHOOL SENTIMENT.....	682
124	THE DISTRICT SCHOOL.....	693
125	THE SCHOOLS AND THE COURTS.....	700

CHAPTER XXV BUILDING THE RAILROADS

126	GENERAL CONDITIONS	714
127	PIONEER RAILROADS.....	717
128	THE BUILDERS	733

CHAPTER XXVI THE CIVIL WAR

129	RESPONSE TO FORT SUMTER.....	738
130	ORGANIZING THE ARMY.....	739
131	BOUNTIES AND DRAFTS.....	760
132	THE INDIANA LEGION.....	765
133	BORDER RAIDS.....	767
134	MORGAN'S RAID	771
135	OPPOSITION TO THE WAR.....	776
136	THE GOLDEN CIRCLE.....	778
137	SOLDIERS' RELIEF.....	793

CHAPTER XXVII RECONSTRUCTION

138	ELECTION OF 1864.....	798
139	REORGANIZATION	803
140	CARE OF DEPENDENTS.....	809
141	REFORM SCHOOLS.....	811
142	FEEBLE-MINDED	815
143	TAX SYSTEM.....	817
144	RECONSTRUCTION POLICIES	819

CHAPTER XXVIII AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

145	STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.....	822
146	CARE OF THE SOIL.....	826
147	FARM STOCK.....	828
148	CROPS	832

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ix

149	ROAD BUILDING	839
150	AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.....	841
151	THE STATE FAIR.....	844
CHAPTER XXIX GREENBACKERS AND GRANGERS		
152	ECONOMIC REVOLUTION	849
153	GRANGERS	852
154	LIBERAL REPUBLICANS.....	856
155	GREENBACKERS	859
156	GREENBACK CAMPAIGNS.....	873
CHAPTER XXX MINING		
157	SALT	882
158	GEOLOGICAL SURVEYS.....	886
159	IRON MINES AND FOUNDRIES.....	896
160	COAL	900
161	CLAYS	904
162	OOBITIC LIMESTONE.....	907
163	NATURAL GAS	911
164	PETROLEUM	913
CHAPTER XXXI STATE SCHOOL SYSTEM		
165	GENERAL FEATURES	916
166	FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT	917
167	ADMINISTRATION	918
168	SUPERVISION	921
169	PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION.....	928
170	THE CURRICULUM	941
171	STATE SYSTEM	950
CHAPTER XXXII THE TARIFF QUESTION		
172	INDIANA AND THE TARIFF.....	953
173	AN INDIANA PRESIDENT	960
CHAPTER XXXIII INDIANA CITIES		
174	EARLY CONDITIONS.....	966
175	COMMUNITIES	972

TABLE OF CONTENTS

176	RISE OF THE CITIES.....	974
177	DEVELOPMENT	982
CHAPTER XXXIV THE COLLEGES		
178	EARLY ATTENDANCE.....	988
179	SECTARIANISM.....	989
180	CLASSICAL EDUCATION.....	994
181	SOCIETY AND POLITICS.....	996
182	THE CHANGING CURRICULUM	1001
183	RELIGION AT THE COLLEGES.....	1011
184	CORRUPTION	1012
185	LAW	1014
186	MEDICINE	1015
187	GRADUATE SCHOOLS.....	1017
188	COLLEGE UNITY	1017
CHAPTER XXXV COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT		
189	THE CHANGE	1021
190	INDUSTRIAL PARTIES.....	1034
191	LABOR LEGISLATION	1035
192	PROTECTION OF WOMEN.....	1039
193	HEALTH AND SANITATION.....	1041
194	TRANSPORTATION	1044
CHAPTER XXXVI POPULISTS, SOCIALISTS AND PROGRESSIVES		
195	POPULISTS	1047
196	SOCIALISTS	1058
197	PROGRESSIVES	1060
198	POLITICAL PROGRESS	1067
CHAPTER XXXVII MILITARY HISTORY SINCE THE CIVIL WAR		
199	AFTER THE CIVIL WAR.....	1070
200	MILITIA AND STRIKES.....	1072
201	THE NEW LEGION.....	1076

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xi

202	THE NATIONAL GUARD.....	1077
203	SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.....	1078
204	ON THE MEXICAN BORDER.....	1084
205	WAR WITH GERMANY.....	1090
CHAPTER XXXVIII LITERARY HISTORY		
206	NEWSPAPERS	1098
207	ORATORY	1109
208	PROSE	1114
209	POETRY	1136

MAPS

1	CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION OF 1854.....	636
■	CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION OF 1856.....	646
3	VOTE ON FREE SCHOOLS, 1848.....	685
4	VOTE ON FREE SCHOOL LAW, 1849....	689
5	PIONEER RAILROADS OF INDIANA.....	722
6	POPULATION (1860), DRAFTED MEN, VOLUN- TEERS	765
7	FARM AND FOREST LAND IN INDIANA, 1860...	825
■	DEMOCRATS, REPUBLICANS, GREENBACKERS, 1876	877
9	MINERALS OF INDIANA.....	884
10	ELECTION OF 1892.....	1053
11	ELECTION OF 1904.....	1057
12	ELECTION OF 1912.....	1063

CHAPTER XXII

INDIANA IN THE FIFTIES

§ 97 THE CHURCHES

THE new political constitution of Indiana made in 1850 was only an index of the deeper changes taking place in society. The glorious outburst of evangelism following the great campmeetings was succeeded by a period reaching approximately from 1825 to 1850 in which the various church societies gave their chief attention to the study of their creeds. The interdenominational campmeeting gave way to conventions, associations, yearly, quarterly and protracted meetings and synods in which members of one society exercised complete control. Even this denominational harmony soon passed. The disorganizing tendency once started seemed to find nowhere to stop. It was a great period for searching the Bible. Every preacher and thousands of laymen studied the Book with the utmost attention in order the more narrowly to examine the foundations of their faith and creeds. Instead of the campmeeting call to a free and universal salvation, there were doctrinal sermons, based on numerous quoted texts, arranged with more or less logic to prove a controverted point. Laymen and ministers transferred their membership from one denomination to another with great freedom. More enthusiasm was displayed than the feeble machinery of the new churches could stand and consequently each of the Protestant organizations became more or less disorganized. The

charity of the early circuit riders and missionaries gradually gave way to denominational bigotry. Joint debates between opposing ministers took place from the pulpits and between the laymen at their various places of meeting, usually, fortunately, with candor and without personal unfriendliness.

The natural result followed this emphasis on the differences between the denominations. Contention arose in each denomination and in each individual society. The Methodist Protestant church separated from the Methodist Episcopal between 1824 and 1830 on account of the government of the church by the bishops; the Wesleyan Methodists in 1843 divided on account of the slavery question; the Free Methodists, demanding a more rigid austerity, organized separately between 1850 and 1860. Psalm-singing Covenanters, Reformed and Cumberland, Old side and New-side, Reformed and Associate Reformed, Dutch, German, and Scotch Presbyterians, came to exist in the same county.¹ They were divided on the government of the church and the government of the State, on questions of communion and original sin, until it seemed in the fifties that the achievements of the missionaries in Indiana would be lost. The Baptists divided on missionary work and foot-washing, on Calvinism and Arminianism, free-will and predestination, on the separation of church and state and regeneration, on church government and baptism; Regular, Separate, United, General, Particular, Primitive, Freewill, Means and Anti-means, Seventh Day, and German or Dunkard Baptist churches existed in close proximity.² Even the Quakers divided on the nature of the trinity, the Unitarians becoming known as Hickrites.

¹ James A. Woodburn, "The Scotch-Irish Covenanters in Monroe County," *Indiana Historical Society Pub.*, 1V, 426.

² William T. Stott, *Indiana Baptist History*, 31.

A great many members of these churches, including the preachers, disgusted with endless bickerings over minor and doctrinal questions, went over to the Universalist church, which gained great power in Indiana during the period. Its doctrine of universal salvation was attractive to many. The orthodox ministers attacked the Universalists savagely. Their favorite form of conflict was the joint discussion. These stirring debates, held in the woods, the listeners bringing lunch with them for the noon hour, often lasted two days, morning and afternoon.¹ The end of this era of church schism was approaching when the Civil war came.

§ 98 HOME LIFE

Indiana home life by 1850 had changed materially. The ideal was the manorial homestead of England and Germany about 1700, the time when their ancestors began leaving those countries. The central system around which the others were organized was the art of reducing the wilderness to homesteads. The art became highly developed after about 1740 when the first real American pioneer settlements were formed in western Pennsylvania, the Shenandoah valley and the Carolina and Georgia uplands and reached its culmination in the Ohio valley about 1860. Two radically different types of men and women attacked the problem. In Pennsylvania and the northern part of the Shenandoah were the refugee Germans, called, until recently, the Pennsylvania Dutch, from southern and western Germany. In their German homes they had been peasants, cultivating their little fields with the greatest skill. They produced little for the market, therefore every need

¹ Elmo A. Robinson, "Universalism in Indiana," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XIII, 1 and 157.

of the household had to be anticipated during the year in the growing crop, in which they accordingly developed a nice balance. There were sheep for clothing; cows for milk, butter and cheese; horses only enough for the work, with a preference for oxen on account of their value for beef and hides after they were too old for profitable work, hogs for meat; geese or ducks for feather beds; chickens for eggs and table use; garden vegetables for the table; cabbage for sauerkraut; potatoes for winter use; apples for cider, apple butter, eating and drying; corn for feeding and for making whisky, and wheat for bread. They took extreme care of their farming implements, cleared their fields of rocks and stumps, and built capacious barns for housing their stock and crops. They stuck close to their work, plodding, prosaic, practical. Their old homesteads along the Susquehanna, with their red brick houses, hillside barns and productive fields, still bear ample evidence of their success as farmers.

The exact counterpart of these were the English, Irish and Scotch peasants who settled in the Carolina uplands and in the Shenandoah. In the west they acquired large bodies of land, let their stock stand out during the winter, browsing on twigs and tuft grass, built large houses, met many household needs with money from sales of cattle, and spent their leisure time roaming the woods, hunting, or arguing politics and religion at the taverns or cross roads. They developed an intense, robust, independent individualism, rough and boisterous, artistic and imaginative. As politicians and preachers they were a tremendous success, as farmers and business men they were not so successful. The tumbledown buildings and worn-out lands of Virginia, the Carolinas

and Tennessee are yet witnesses to their thriftless farming.

The volume of technical knowledge and skill acquired by the pioneer farmer far exceeds what is ordinarily supposed. Where there was no extraordinary rush, land was not cleared immediately. The intended field was laid off and timber selected for fencing. The fence was a square rail worm, built usually nine rails high. Each rail was ten feet long and about four inches square, the fence thus being eighty inches high; if a pasture fence, it was staked and ridged or simply locked. The first choice of timber for the rails was walnut and poplar, though oak would be used rather than haul the rails a great distance, say a quarter of a mile. Usually the rails could be made so near the line of the fence that hauling, with oxen and sled, was not necessary. The rails were usually made in the winter while the sap was down because the timber split better then and the rails lasted longer. In making the rails, an axe, an iron wedge or two, a maul, and at least two gluts, or wooden wedges, were necessary. The maul was made of second-growth hickory, if possible a hickory without any red. The sapling, five or six inches through, was cut below the first roots and a maul about one foot long left. The handle was then dressed down to the proper size, the maul rounded off and the finished article set in the chimney corner to season a half year or so. The gluts were made of dogwood saplings four inches through, each glut being from twelve to sixteen inches long, dressed down very carefully to a point. If not properly tapered the glut would bounce, utterly ruining the rail splitter's temper. The iron wedge was made by the blacksmith with the same proportions and precision. Thus armed, the pioneer railmaker went forth, as

much a skilled mechanic as any cabinet maker. After the rails were laid up there was always danger of some descendant of Rip Van Winkle firing the woods.

After the fence was completed the underbrush was cut and piled and the trees and saplings deadened. This latter process required both knowledge and skill again, for some trees, as the hickory and willow, needed only to be barked, the oak, poplar and beech needed only to be sapped, while such as the black gum and sycamore had to be cut down deep into the red. Most trees when girdled, or deadened, immediately died, but if a willow were peeled in the spring there were usually some thousands of volunteer willows in its neighborhood a year later, while a gum or sassafras deadened out of season was a calamity. Trees deadened when the sap was up became rotten in two years, at which time if the clearing were fired many of the trees would burn down and then burn up. The remaining trees could be cut, rolled and burned easily. Most of the small stumps were likewise rotten and if the flock of sheep had been busy nearly all the sprouts were dead.

The field was thus ready for the plow. The most approved way of first breaking was with a stout jumping shovel and two yokes of heavy, steady oxen. There was a certain amount of pleasure in watching such a plow tear through the rotten roots, but the completest torture this side of eternity was plowing with a jumping shovel in a rooty new-ground with a team of spirited horses. The plow, excepting the iron shovel and the cutter, was produced on the farm, as were also the ox yokes and the oxen.

The same expert knowledge coupled with the same practical skill was necessary in all the various lines of farming activity. There was no refrigerator, but a house was built over the spring and places

prepared so that the milk crocks and the butter bowl could get the benefit of the cold water. There was no cold storage, but the potatoes, apples and cabbage were holed up in the ground beyond the frost and a cellar provided for other articles of constant use during the winter.

The Hoosier folk had long ago lost all distinctions between Dutch and Irish, but they had retained the Dutch characteristic of all-round farming and had acquired some new tastes which required an even wider range of production. In the barnyard were horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, ducks, geese and chickens. The heavy draft horses, which formerly drew the old Conestoga, had given away to a lighter, quicker breed from Virginia and Kentucky, while at least two yokes of oxen were kept for the heavy hauling around the farm. There must be at least a half dozen milk cows, for country butter and hot cornbread disappeared in enormous quantities at breakfast in the presence of eight or ten husky young Hoosiers and two or three work hands. At dinner or supper a quart of sweet milk was a modest allowance for each person, with perhaps an extra pint for the six- and eight-year-olds, while a jug of cold buttermilk, fresh from the springhouse, was an ever-present comfort when the hot harvesters came up to the shade to blow after marching across a ten-acre field. There must be two or three fat, yearling steers to tide over the period from October to Christmas when the pork season was closed. A considerable amount of beef must be on hands also at butchering time to mix with the pork to make the proper quality of sausage.

The farmer kept a weather eye on his porkers. There must be at least fifteen good two-hundred-pounders ready for the hog killing, which happened along about Christmas. There was no special rush,

for in any emergency like Quarterly Meeting or a political rally a couple of sheep or a shoat or a yearling steer could be killed. But the porkers must bear the brunt of the burden. They were ready for fattening when two years old, until which time they followed the law of the range, "root hog or die." Their master never failed, however, at weaning time, to clip off the tip of an ear, cut a notch in it, bore a hole through it or make some other mark as an indication of his ownership. After one month's feeding on corn the fifteen or twenty hogs were ready for the hog-killing festival, one of the big events in pioneer life. It would take a small volume to give all the details of the hog-killing, pork-curing process—the killing, the sticking, the scalding, the hanging, rendering lard, making head cheese, sausage, salting the meat in tubs, smoking and finally preparing the hickory hams for the summer season. So skillful were they and so tasty was the finished product that even today some of the choicest products of modern packing houses are labeled country sausage or country-cured hams.

The woman's sphere in pioneer life was large and indispensable. Outside the house she, together with the children, looked after the sheep, caring for the lambs in the early spring, shearing the sheep, washing, picking, carding, spinning, reeling, winding, knitting and weaving the wool into cloth and making the cloth into coverlets, blankets and clothing. In a large family, and nearly all were large, this was an endless task, lasting from early morn till late bedtime every day in the year except Sundays. Very few persons now living have the knowledge and skill to do this routine work which every pioneer girl learned as a matter of course.

The geese were under the complete jurisdiction of

the women. It required a flock of two or three dozen to furnish the huge featherbeds and pillows that were such an attractive feature of the pioneer home. Besides this, every child, when it was married off, was presented with a featherbed and four pillows, and many a baked goose found its way to the Sunday dinner table. Enough chickens, say one hundred, had to be raised to furnish eggs for the cooking. The women used eggs freely in making coffee, corn bread, cakes and especially for a breakfast fry in the early spring. It was the social law that chicken should form the *piece de resistance* at all church festivals and the preacher's predilection for fried chicken was known of all women.

While the men looked after the cattle in general, the milk cows received the special attention of the women; milking, straining, churning and dressing the butter was more than a mere pastime.

In the dining room and kitchen the wife was sole monarch and together with her daughters was the whole working force. Providing for the table required a foresight beyond our conception at present. The grocery store was no assistance to her. She had to plan a year ahead. The men assisted with the housework to a small degree, but the family mother furnished all information and gave the general directions. The father looked after the meat and bread, but beyond that his knowledge and skill were limited. Canning fruit was not widely practiced, but there was no end of preserves, made of apple, peach, quince, crab apple, water melon, and citron; jams, marmalades, jellies of all varieties, maple syrup and sorghum, dried fruits, green fruits stored in cellar, spice brush, sassafras, balsam, sage, alder blossoms, buckeyes, catnip, pennyroyal, ditna and scores of other things to be gathered, prepared and laid away,

some to be used in cooking, others as medicines, others as charms, or as flavors, for soups, meats, or cake. It was a whole science in itself.

As a rule the men were possessed of great physical strength and activity. Their daily life was conducive to bodily vigor. No better physical training could be prescribed today than to swing the ax or maul in the forest ten hours a day for months at a time. In this respect southern Indiana was full of Lincolns before the Civil war. Such men could help at twenty log rollings on as many successive days. Most young men could leap an eight-rail fence, and at gatherings it was not extraordinary to find a few, each of whom could jump a bar held level with the top of his head. An ordinary deer hunt would, in the course of the day, take them on a thirty-mile tramp through the unbroken snow. Harvesters would swing the cradle from sun to sun with only brief rests for dinner and lunch. Yet between "busy seasons" there were considerable periods of leisure. From the middle of August to the middle of October little work was done, and again from Christmas till April work was easy. Usually a man who weighed one hundred and sixty pounds in August would weigh two hundred pounds in March.

But there is another side to this picture. In almost every household there was some old "hippo," broken either in body or spirit, or frequently both. Age, perhaps, had robbed him of the vitality necessary to compete in the hard struggle. He could name a dozen diseases working on him. From his ailments he had constructed a science. His corns and his rheumatism warned him of approaching changes in the weather. The pale, red, setting sun foretold a disastrous plague, most probably smallpox or "yaller" fever. The crackle of the burning backlog

announced an approaching snowstorm. The thick corn shuck, the low-hung hornet's nest, the busy woodpeckers and squirrels were sure signs of a hard winter. In the art of forecasting he was the successor of the seers, sooth-sayers and astrologers, last and least harmful of all the parasitic train. Science has usurped his throne, though traces of his reign still linger. By his shrewd observations, his persistent guessings and "I told you so's" he gained a vast influence over the unscientific community.

Hippo was also a medical man. His specialty was bitters. On fine days he would potter around the premises gathering roots, leaves and bark and concocting his nostrums. At other times he ventured as far as the store or to some neighboring crone where he compared theories, observations and experiences in the interest of his compound science of prophecy and pharmacology. So complete was his sway in this field that few homes could be found without its jug of bitters and so persistent has been that influence that few of us today are able to defend ourselves against the patent medicine fakers who cater to our inherited weakness.

By 1850 a considerable degree of ease and comfort had been attained by the older settlers. While there were no fixed lines of social cleavage, yet a traveler could readily distinguish the two classes of farmers. The newcomers and the shiftless still lived in humble log cabins, but the more prosperous had built brick or frame houses. Most characteristic of these was the old-fashioned, two-story, red brick, built back one hundred feet or more from the road, with its approach shaded by tall evergreens. Scarcely a neighborhood in Indiana but had one or more of these evidences of magnificence and large numbers may still be seen in the southern part of the state. Rag carpets covered the floors, at least of

some of the rooms. Huge bedsteads, with posts reaching almost to the high ceilings, adorned the sleeping rooms. Chests, corner cupboards and wardrobes of cherry or walnut, made by some itinerant cabinet maker, could be found in many houses and a very few pianos were brought into the state before the Civil war. Cookstoves with two and four holes began to appear in the kitchen. The springhouses, still to be seen in many parts of the state, served as our first refrigerators, though ice houses, packed with straw or sawdust, were not unknown. Here and there a hillside barn could be seen, though these buildings, so common among the Pennsylvania farmers of the time, were rare in Indiana.

The public roads during this period were improved so that travel was possible. Many railroads were building, but the great bulk of traffic was still done by wagon. Professional teamsters were to be found in every neighborhood. Storekeepers at Point Commerce, Spencer, and Bloomington had their goods hauled overland from New Albany till the Louisville & New Albany (Monon) railroad was opened in 1853.* Farmers and merchants from Newcastle, Connersville, Brookville and the Whitewater district hauled their produce to Lawrenceburg or Cincinnati. Ripley, Jennings and Bartholomew counties traded over the Michigan road to Madison. The northern part of the state depended on the Wabash river and the Wabash and Erie canal, the latter being opened through to Evansville in 1853. The region west of South Bend traded to Chicago and Michigan City. Men are yet living who hauled apples and potatoes from Vermilion, Warren and Jasper counties to Chicago.

* Robert Weems, "Settlement of Worthington and Old Point Commerce," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XII, 68. See also the various county histories.

§ 99 WEALTH

Indiana prospered between 1850 and 1860. The property valuation jumped from \$202,000,000 to \$528,000,000, an increase of 160 per cent. Over 3,000,000 acres of land were cleared and plowed while the farms more than doubled in value. Over \$10,000,000 worth of farm machinery was in use in 1860. There was an average gain of two horses and three milk cows to each farm, the total for the state in 1860 being 409,000 horses, 18,000 mules, 491,000 milk cows, 95,000 work oxen, 582,000 stock cattle, 2,157,375 sheep, 2,498,000 hogs. The annual crop of wheat jumped from 6,000,000 bushels in 1850 to 15,000,000 bushels in 1860; rye from 74,000 to 400,000 bushels; corn from 53,000,000 to 69,000,000 bushels; oats dropped from 5,655,000 to 5,000,000 bushels; tobacco increased from 1,000,000 to over 7,000,000 pounds; potatoes from 2,000,000 to 3,873,000 bushels; and orchard products from \$324,000 to \$1,212,000 worth. The cultivation of rice, cotton and hemp practically disappeared. Hops dropped from 92,000 to 74,000 pounds; flax from 584,000 to 73,000; maple sugar from 2,921,000 to 1,515,000 pounds. Beeswax and honey increased from 935,000 to 1,221,000 pounds. Homemade manufactures declined from \$1,631,000 in 1850 to \$847,000 worth in 1860, while the value of slaughtered animals increased from \$6,567,000 in 1850 to \$9,592,000 in 1860.*

These statistics show the economic changes underneath the social. The fields of hemp and flax gave way to the sheep pasture as the people passed from the linsey-woolsey to the homespun period. The decline in household manufactures kept pace with the increase in export products such as flour and pork. The 18,000,000 pounds of butter took the place in

* U. S. Census, tables 25 and 26.

large part on the farmers' tables of the wild meat from the forest. Each well-established farm by 1860 had a team of driving horses for the carriage, which explains the increase of 100,000 horses during the decade. The enormous increase in the acreage and produce of hay, wheat, clover and orchards shows directly the result of the agricultural societies and the study of agriculture by the farmers. The reign of corn and pork was being challenged. The number of sheep increased almost 100 per cent. while the number of hogs increased only about 12 per cent. The total number of cattle also nearly doubled. While the total corn crop gained only 33 per cent., wheat, hay and clover gained 150 per cent., 100 per cent. and 140 per cent. respectively.

§ 100 DRESS

The increase in wealth brought a new era in dress. As noted above, the everyday wear of the farmers became homespun, the cloth for which was made of wool raised on the farm, spun, woven and made up by the household. Religious scruples in many places limited indulgence in the most fashionable clothing, but it is not far from the fact to say that every well-to-do farmer had a suit of English broadcloth, a beaver hat, and high-top boots. The dress of the fashionable women was past description. Nothing but an inspection of the fashion plates of *Godey's*, *Peterson* and *Frank Leslie* will give an adequate idea. Ladies' skirts frequently were eight feet in diameter, kept fully expanded by metal or grapevine hoops. The waist was tightly laced so that the whole figure resembled an old-fashioned Hubbard squash. Over the shoulders mantillas took the place of the earlier shawls or woven blankets. On the head were worn light bonnets made of tulle, silk, and velvet,

decorated with lace and flowers, fastened on with broad, white strings, plaited and edged with lace, tied in a huge bow under the chin. Huge ruffles or flounces a foot wide circled the ample skirts and sleeves, while bands of lace fastened at one edge passed suspender-like over the shoulders. A woman so dressed must have been almost helpless and it is safe to say the farmers' wives soon shed this finery when they reached home. The children's clothes were almost exactly like those of their elders except for size.

§ 101 SOCIETY

In spite of the growing diversity in wealth, society remained democratic. There was a great deal of visiting, the visitors usually coming on Saturday night and remaining until Sunday afternoon. The chief attraction was the Sunday dinner. It was usual for everybody either to be guests or hosts at dinner after the sermon on Sunday.

Besides the church and school, the chief social centers were the village stores and the flour mills. There was a general readjustment of town and village sites. In the earlier period towns had been located generally on navigable waters or on canal sites. Now the building of railroads from one large city to another left many a struggling village on one side and there was nothing left for it but to move to the nearest point on the railroad or die. At these villages the local stump speaker held forth, the wandering preacher sermonized the neighbors, the writing, singing and spelling schools met, and above all for its social influence it was where the neighborhood board met to manufacture public opinion. Through this village committee must pass every bit of news, political, religious or otherwise, before it could have any effect on the community. It was not so much

what the information was as how it affected certain members of the committee which sat almost continuously, jackknife in hand, at the store, blacksmith shop or some other convenient place in the village. When news was scarce these guardians of the people pitched horse shoes, played checkers, superintended the rifle-matches, the Christmas trees and attended to all duties not strictly provided for by the General Assembly. It seems that the influence of this institution almost equalled that of the church or the school. It is certain no teacher or preacher could long maintain his position against a hostile public opinion created by this village club.

The village store's only rival in the formation of public opinion was the neighborhood mill. Only rarely was the mill located at the village, the forces determining their location being entirely different. Early Indiana was rich in water power. There was not a county in the state but had several good mill streams. An early law enabled one to condemn mill-sites and many grist mills date from very early times. However, the water mills reached their climax in the decade of the fifties. The farmers were producing enormous crops of wheat and corn and the railroads had not yet begun to carry them to the larger mills or elevators. This surplus grain was ground at the water mills, of which there were usually a dozen in each county.⁴

⁴ Noah J. Major, *Pioneers of Morgan County*, 418. "The reader will please pardon me if I linger too long around this historic mill yard, once so full of life and energy, now nothing but a dreary little corn field. Once the hum of machinery was heard from Monday morning till Saturday night and in the dry summer months never ceased, day or night. People came from near and far, waited all night and two days for their turn, pottin' in their time shavin'. * * * It was here for many years that house and barn patterns were sawed out. here, also, was sawed the

The miller frequently added a saw mill, a tannery and a carding mill to his plant, rounding out his business by putting up a large store where all the neighborhood produce was bought and shipped by this pioneer merchant prince to New Orleans by flatboat. The flour and meal ground in Indiana in 1860 was valued at \$11,200,000, an increase over 1850 of 104 per cent. The lumber sawed was valued at \$3,169,000. One can easily infer that the men who gathered at these industrial centers were far different from those who congregated at the village. If one was the forerunner of our literary and country clubs and other places of amusement and recreation, the other was the predecessor of the commercial clubs. The building of railroads and the extraordinary demands of the Civil war ruined the country milling business. Of the hundred of mills that prospered in the fifties scarce a score now remain to do a small neighborhood service.

§ 102 MORALS

The moral condition of the people seems to have improved steadily till the outbreak of the Civil war. The total number of inmates in the state prison during 1859 was 556. Of these, 276 were serving two-year terms, nearly all for some form of larceny. Of life prisoners there were only 19. The greater part of this crime was attributed by the warden to intemperance, 446 being listed as drunkards or moderate drinkers. These convicts were huddled together in a small prison at Jeffersonville. The most troublesome

lumber for flatboats each returning year from 1830 to 1853. Here, too, the greatest boatyard in the county was established. Boats one hundred feet long by twenty feet wide were built and turned in the basin above the dam." The writer was describing Cox's mill near Martinsville. Still more famous socially was the Hamet mill, two miles east of Mitchell.

crime was horse-stealing. Bands of these criminals rendezvoused in the swampy thickets of the north part of the state in easy reach of central Indiana, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois. Other bands had their headquarters along the Ohio river hills and took their stolen horses across the river to dispose of them. The courts were unable to break up these organizations and vigilance committees had to take the matter in hand. Detailed accounts of these petty wars can be found in the county histories.

About 1850 a determined attack was begun on the liquor traffic. Drinking had been universal among the pioneers, but the Protestant churches, especially the Methodist and Quaker, had made endless war on the traffic. As the villages grew into cities the saloons (then called groceries or tippling houses) developed into harbors for the improvident and the vicious. The Southeast Indiana conference of the Methodist church at its annual session of 1853 adopted resolutions condemning the making, handling or use of liquor and demanded of the next General Assembly the enactment of a Maine Law for Indiana.⁷

The General Assembly of 1853 passed a license law with a township option provision.⁸ The contest at the local option elections in the April elections of 1853 had spread the agitation broadcast, to the disgust of the conservative element in both clerical and political organizations. Such cities as Indianapolis, New Albany, Lafayette, Greencastle and Lawrenceburg voted dry, while Madison, Jeffersonville and Terre Haute voted to retain saloons.⁹ The old Wash-

⁷ *Indianapolis Morning Journal*, November 16, 1853. These resolutions show approximately the position taken by the Methodist, Baptist, Quaker and Presbyterian churches.

⁸ *Laws of Indiana*, 1853, ch. 66.

⁹ *Washington Democrat*, April 22, 1853. A discussion of this movement as a political issue will be found elsewhere.

ingtonians, the newer Sons of Temperance, and the Grand Union Daughters of Temperance organized for the conflict.

§ 103 PUBLIC HEALTH

Little or no progress had been made in public sanitation. The causes of disease were not known by the physicians, although medical practice was much improved. The influence of the medical schools was beginning to be seen in the changed attitude of the people toward the herb doctors. However, it was not customary to call a physician until the patient's life was in danger or until a case of pneumonia, typhoid fever or some usually fatal illness became well defined. No effort was made to prevent disease. Typhoid fever would scourge a whole community until its mysterious course was arrested by the autumn rains or winter. As if to aid its deadly progress, all the well persons of the neighborhood, in relays of four or five, would "sit up" with the patient without ever suspecting that they might thereby contract the disease. In the year 1859, by way of example, the deaths in August, September and October, the typhoid months, were 1,500, 1,633, and 1,364; while for the three preceding months there were, all told, 3,358 deaths and for the succeeding three there were 2,991; an excess of 1,139 over the preceding spring months and 1,506 over the succeeding winter months. The death toll of typhoid fever seems to have been about 500 persons per month, though the total number directly attributed to this malady was 1,763.* Consumption, with 1,704 victims, pneumonia with 1,149, scarlatina with 1,432,

* *U. S. Census, 1860, table 6.* Before me is a worn copy of William C. Barton's *Vegetable Materia Medica of the United States*, from the library of one of the best physicians of that time. It contains descriptions of the common medicinal plants, with directions for gathering, curing and making them into medicines.

croup with 778, brain fever with 642, whooping cough with 322 and dysentery with 918, were the other troublesome diseases. It will be noted that the last five affected children almost entirely. Infantile mortality was high. While the statistics are not at hand, it seems that half the children in the family died before reaching maturity.

There were very few public cemeteries at this time. Each farm, as a rule, had, somewhere near the house, a small plot which was used as a family burying ground. A great many of these private cemeteries may still be seen in Indiana, but in most cases the farm has changed hands too often and the unmarked graves have been neglected. By far the larger part of the first generation of Indianians are now in unmarked graves. All traces of their existences have disappeared as completely as those of the forest, the wild animals and the Indians, their contemporaries.

Scenes of physical suffering and death were common, so much so that it had a strange effect on the naturally buoyant Hoosier character. All who have read the stories and ballads common in Indiana at this time have been amused at the pathos. Such ballads as "Lily Dale," "Sweet William," "Barbara Allen," "Fuller and Warren" illustrate the characteristics. This has been wrongly attributed to affectation, but it was nothing more than an expression of this native hilarity subdued by moments of sadness. These mournsome songs were usually sung on the most convivial occasions and were not intended by the singers to express sorrow.

§ 104 SOCIAL GATHERINGS

Public meetings of the fifties were noticeable for their formality and dignity. The people were the first of three or four generations to appear in formal

society, and naturally the tendency to overdress and overact the occasion was great. One must not get the idea that the old pioneer time had been sloughed as a snake does his skin. Half of Indiana was still in the log-cabin, hunting-shirt era. The polish that appeared in the cities and in the more prosperous farm communities was mocked in most places, but it was the herald of better times. Manners were still rough and coarse as compared with the present. Gentlemen of society, in their long bell coats, white vests and ruffled shirts, swore like slave drivers. Women, after a few short years in the whirl of fashion, settled down into comfortable clothing, did from ten to sixteen hours of hard work per day, raised a large family, in the meantime smoking their clay pipes with what composure they could."

Most of the amusements of pioneer times continued throughout this period. At the schoolhouse the young folks gathered of evenings for the spelling

1: The following paragraph by a reporter for the *Rural New Yorker* is worth considering

Our route lay through Northern Indiana and Central Michigan. The scenery was beautiful, and crops seemed promising; but, if physiognomy denotes inner sanctity and intelligence, one can but infer that the light of the Gospel truth and education has illuminated to a very limited extent this part of the "Mighty West." Unless a marked advance is soon made in their moral state and political condition, we are seriously afraid that a day of retribution will find a majority of the people wanting both in theory and practice. The pioneers are strangers to the day of grace, their portion is among the Gentiles. In many regions of the State they are so industrious that the memory of the oldest settler runneth not back to the time when Sabbath day Fourth of July, or any other holiday mentionable in the English language was observed. Governor Blaine's philanthropic mission of sending from the East into this inhabitation of darkness, female teachers does not work out the promised glorious result. * * * We hope, however, for the advent of better times. "Let us learn to labor and to wait."—*Washington Democrat*, September 23, 1858.

match, the singing school, the writing school and especially for the "literary" or debate. All of these were largely patronized throughout the decade. Old folks as well as young, took part in all these meetings. Each was essentially a contest in which groups or "sides" contested against groups. The individual contests were going out of fashion in the older communities. One school frequently challenged another; one singing class challenged another in an adjoining neighborhood; one debating society challenged another; or even one writing class entered the lists against another. These writing schools had no connection with the district school, but were composed of grown persons under the tuition of an itinerant teacher. The same is true of the singing school. The writing school usually met of evenings while the singing school held on Sunday. Elaborate rules governed all these contests. They were not dress affairs, though lads and lassies usually attended in pairs and took full advantage of the opportunities offered for "sparking."

More elaborate and formal were the Sunday meetings at the church house. Here the best and starchiest dress was required. At Quarterly meetings and Associations baskets of fried chicken, cakes and pies were brought and at the noon intermission the table cloth was spread on the grass under the trees. On these occasions friends and relatives from distant neighborhoods combined the pleasures of worship with those of a social visit. In many localities these meetings were the greatest events of the year.

The great American holidays were usually observed, each in its peculiar way. The Fourth of July was a dress occasion on which, in the towns, the leading citizens and ladies sat down to a formal banquet, after which lugubrious toasts to our glorious country

were given. In the rural districts the folks gathered in a grove, sometimes listened to the readings of the Declaration or a pompous oration by some member of the bar or more often danced in the sawdust to the music of the fiddle. The other great holiday was Christmas, on the eve of which a sleigh ride to the Christmas tree was good sport for the grown boys and girls, while the little ones hung up their stockings in eager expectation of the visit of Santa Claus. Bands of young men armed with muskets, horns and conch shells made the rounds of the neighborhood on Christmas eve, shooting in front of houses and demanding treats of liquor, apples, pies or cakes, according to taste or local custom. On Christmas day kinfolks gathered together to enjoy a sumptuous feast, greatest of the year in many homes.

The militia muster had yielded its former prestige partly to the election day and partly to the barbecue, the former taking over the business and the latter the pleasure. The procedure on election day varied so much in different parts of the state that no detailed description would be fair to more than one community. In the great majority of townships the election was an orderly, quiet, business-like poll of the voters. In other townships it was bedlam on a spree. The barbecue, originally appropriate for any gathering, had by 1850 become appropriated almost exclusively for political meetings. Beef was the proper meat for barbecuing. It was not a fashionable meeting. All classes attended, dressed in all styles from the fringed hunting shirt and moccasins to the bell-shaped great coat and bee-gum beaver. Usually some political speaker harangued the multitude, and not infrequently two or three speakers were going simultaneously. One hundred farm wagons, mingled with a considerable number of ox-teams and stylish family carriages could be counted on the grounds.

The feast was not altogether lovely from our point of view. Swarms of flies and gnats covered the meat except when shooed away by the feasters. Kegs of corn whisakey and hard cider were consumed by the multitude, resulting in the usual coarse behavior. Frequently the revelry continued far into the night or not seldom throughout the second day during which the people camped on the ground and spent the time around the camp fire in social visits. Naturally the young folks enjoyed themselves to the limit.

§ 105 TRAVEL

There were in Indiana in 1854 twelve daily, two tri-weekly, one semi-weekly, one hundred and twenty-one weekly, one fortnightly and six monthly newspapers. Only nineteen counties were entirely without newspapers.¹² The reading of these papers, with their stories of the outside world, the wonders of the cities and the lure of the great west, created uncontrollable desire to see the world. The new railroads and palatial steamboats offered the means and the returns from good crops and profitable commerce furnished the necessary funds. Cincinnati and New Orleans were the attractive western cities. It was counted the treat of a lifetime to make the trip to New Orleans on such a steamer as the "Shotwell," "Antelope," "Diana" or, above all, on the "Eclipse."¹³ More than a score of elegant sidewheel-

¹² *Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 27, 1854.

¹³ The following description is from De la Hunt, *History of Perry County*, 177:

Greatest and grandest of all craft ever afloat on western waters was the "Eclipse," whose name accurately indicated her character. Built in 1851-52 in New Albany, at a cost of \$375,000, she passed Cannelton, March 24, 1862, on her maiden trip to New Orleans, and her like had never been seen, nor will it be again beheld. In mere dimensions she excelled all records, a hull 363 feet

ers plied between Louisville and New Albany and New Orleans. Almost equally numerous and splendid were the boats in the Louisville-St. Louis trade. The elite of southern Indiana met the barons of the Blue Grass in the cabins of these steamers on equal

long, waterwheels 42 feet in diameter, with 14-foot buckets, sustained by shafts of 22-inch diameter, weighing 13 tons each. Two large engines, of 36-inch cylinders, with 11 foot stroke, generated the motive power, besides four smaller engines, for hoisting freight and pumping water. Eight large boilers were 32½ feet in length by 42 inches in diameter besides seven cylinder boilers 35 feet by 12 inches. Her smokestacks measured a diameter of 85 inches and towered 80 feet above the hurricane deck. The first passengers' cabin extended a length of 300 feet, and it was here that money had been squandered with lavishness unparalleled. Five thousand dollars was spent on the carpet alone, woven in Brussels from original designs and specifications sent from New Albany while the boat was being built. This carpet consisted of two immense rugs the full width of the cabin, extending fore and aft from the central gangway and woven with eyelets by which they could be buttoned down at the edges and readily lifted for cleaning. Every piece of chinaware was made from special patterns by the Haviland potteries at Limoges, the smaller plates, cups and saucers bearing the initial "E" in gold near the edge, while the larger dishes were marked "Eclipse" in gilded letters. A flying golden eagle surmounted this as a crest upon the table ware, such as tureens, compot dishes and pitchers. The silver was all sterling, made to special order and engraved with name in ornate script, while all the cutlery and service was of the same costly description. Added to all this, the mere gold leaf used in decoration when building the boat amounted to \$4,875, a single detail of the extravagance displayed throughout. One hundred and twenty people made up the full crew in every capacity, under command of Capt. E. T. Sturgeon, so the passengers were literally on a floating hotel, with servants trained to anticipate every wish. Besides the all-surpassing splendour of her equipment, the "Eclipse" was the swiftest long-distance boat ever in the Mississippi valley, and as such her record remains unbroken, disregarding numerous sprint records, where fast steamers made extraordinary time over short courses. In 1853 occurred the memorable speed contest between the "Eclipse" and the "A. L.

terms. Nowhere in the west was greater elegance displayed. In the evening after the ladies had tired of music and dancing the gentlemen, so inclined, retired to the bar room to spend a large part of the night at poker. Liquor flowed freely and stakes ran high. In spite of Dickens' crabbed comment no river bore such sumptuous crafts as did the Ohio in the fifties and the competition between these river racers was furious.

The railroads had not yet provided such comfortable means of travel. The Madison road cleaned out the week-day hog cars for the Sunday excursion.¹⁴ On other lines the passengers rode on flat cars, using planks for seats. By 1860, however, the older railroads were provided with comfortable coaches,

Shotwell," the former running from the foot of Canal Street, New Orleans, to the Portland wharf, Louisville, in four days, nine hours and twenty minutes, the latter's time being exactly one hour longer. This race was even more thrilling than the famous contest of 1870 between the "Robert K. Lee" and "Natchez," from New Orleans to Saint Louis, as the "Clippers" and "Shotwell" were frequently in plain sight of each other for miles at a time, and thousands of dollars changed hands on the result. Reading the menu of an ordinary day's dinner shows where the money went, since Lucullus himself could only with difficulty have designed a more elaborate banquet than one beginning with ox-tail soup, going through barbecued bass and sheephead to six varieties of boiled and three of cold spiced meats, with choice of ten side-dishes, before the actual meat course was reached. Eight kinds of roast were then offered, and under the head of "Green" appears the modest statement, "All Vegetables of the Season." The dessert is yet more bewildering, with seven different pies, four puddings, four creams, blanc-mange, custard, charlotte russe, sherbets, two "fromettes," and a delicacy not known today called "charlevoix," to say nothing of five cakes, six kinds of fruit, three of nuts, claret and white wines and coffee.

¹⁴ John R. Cravens in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XII, 342; see, also, Dr. John Poucher, "Social Effects of the Monon Railway," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XII, 328.

though of course not equaling the sleepers, diners and chair cars of the present. The trip was frequently interrupted by accidents or by stops to take on wood or water. The men passengers often helped to carry on wood or stood in the water line as the buckets were passed back and forth from some convenient stream or pool to fill the tender. There was no display of fashion on the trains as there was on the boats; however, the travel widened the acquaintanceship of the people with each other and the country more than did that on the boats.

Show day was the gala day *par excellence*. Everybody condemned it, but everybody came and nobody behaved. The shows themselves varied from the two- or three-ring circus, under the big tent among the dog fennel, to the slight-of-hand performers, the dancing bear or speaking mule. The mummy of Napoleon, the snake charmer from Madagascar, the wild man of Borneo, the sword swallower, and their whole brigade were safely ensconced in the side shows where the curious were relieved of their extra money, just as at present. Drunkenness and disorder usually characterized the crowd. The children, by staying close to the clowns and wild animals, had an enjoyable day, but to the older persons the circus was a disappointment.¹²

The contrast of the circus was the fair. There was wonderful activity during the fifties among the farmers and nowhere could this be appreciated so much as at the state and county fairs. All the handiwork and products of the farm were on exhibition, from the finest livestock to the choicest glass of jelly. The farmers with their families came to spend a full day or perhaps more, enjoying and admiring the things of their own world. It was a day of education

¹² Major, *The Pioneers of Morgan County*, 255.

as well as enjoyment. There was earnest comment on all the articles. Many things were done better by them after the fair. Their standard of living was raised by inspecting the wares of others and their vanity tickled by an exhibition of their own. An address in the forenoon and horse races in the afternoon broke the continuity of the day.¹²

§ 106 MENTAL TRAITS

The men were kindly, but rough, outspoken and boisterous. The hard life of the forest for a century had been a potent discipline. The loudest lawyer made the greatest impression on the jury. The native preachers were plain spoken, harsh and merciless. They often found it necessary to maintain order by force. The poor pedagogue was the butt of every coarse joke in the neighborhood. He was barred out, smoked out, ducked or horsewhipped and the surest way to establish himself in the community was to break somebody's head with a poker or lick daily all the helpless children under his charge.

Diametrically opposed to this roughness was the generous, hearty hospitality, unequalled in the United States except among the southern planters. There was a feeling of kinship, at times approaching clanishness, though rarely offensive. They were artistic and visionary. Their pompous language seems to us ridiculous and amusing, but nevertheless is significant. The wandering preacher, the stump speaker and the newspaper paragrapher in their efforts at expression borrowed the grand figures from the Bible, Cicero, Bacon, and Milton and more especially

¹² The State board of agriculture was organized, May 27 1851, by Gov. Joseph A. Wright, president. Its annual reports contain reports from the county societies. In these will be found details of county and state fairs. These old reports furnish a valuable insight into the agricultural life of the times.

from John Knox and Fox's *Book of the Martyrs*. It was the language of the "glorious Revolution." The better orators of the period, such as George G. Dunn, Samuel Parker, Edward Hannegan and Abraham Lincoln, combined this power with a political vein, common in southern Indiana, into readable literature.

But this poetic vision is only the background of the picture. In the foreground looms up an attitude toward God and nature as ridiculous as the former was sublime—looms up so large that only close observation reveals the former. These same folks who stood speechless in the presence of the grandeur of nature planted their cucumbers when the sign was in the arm so they would grow long; planted their potatoes in the dark of the moon so they would not all grow to tops; knew that if the new moon lay on its back the month would be dry; carried buckeyes in their pockets to keep off rheumatism; carried the left front foot of a rabbit, killed in a graveyard in the dark of the moon, for good luck; butchered their hogs in the dark of the moon lest when the pork was fried it all go to grease; believed that if a child were born when the sign was in the stomach it would be hearty; if the sign was in the head it would be wise; if it clung to a pencil when first presented to it, it was destined to a noble professional career. All nature was full of personal significance, full of signs and portents to their superstitious minds. Expert German and French rhapsomancers preyed on the more gullible, telling fortunes, locating buried treasures, stolen goods, or underground streams of water. Many of these signs and sayings were based on long and careful observations. Their weather prognostications took the place of the present weather bureau reports and at times were quite as accurate. Most of the prudential sayings which Franklin printed in

his almanac, and which have since passed for proverbs, were the folk lore of the thrifty German peasants, the Pennsylvania Dutch. A large majority of these small superstitions had kernels of valuable wisdom concealed in their core.

From a personal standpoint their philosophy was broadly humanitarian. Individuals might differ in endowments or wealth, but each bore the impress of the Deity and thus was entitled to respect. This conception had far-reaching consequences. It made slavery impossible, prevented any deep class distinctions, made public schools possible, and laid a broad foundation for Jacksonian democracy. In social life it made the difference between Emerson and Lincoln, between the man who fastens his eye on a distant goal and crushes on through the wreck and ruin of hopes and lives to its consummation, and the man who shapes his life to afford the greatest pleasure to himself and neighbors without much regard to the fulfillment of his own selfish destiny.

Politically, their philosophy was most curious and their conduct contradictory. Long and bitter experience had made them distrustful of government either in the church or the state. Unlike the Puritans and Cavaliers and all other civilized peoples of their time, they conceded no divinity to laws or courts. If the law measured up to their sense of justice they enforced it; if the court meted out substantial justice they obeyed it. If the law was otherwise it remained a dead letter; if the court failed they frequently called in Judge Lynch and the halter strap. Not swift to transcend the law, but certain if the provocation continued. Their ancestors gave their full strength to America in the Revolution, not so much because they loved America as that they hated England. They fought the military part of the War of 1812 largely in gratification of their enmity

toward England and the Indians; and finally they supported the United States in the Civil war not because they hated the South, but because they loved the Union. A strange and happy transformation in the attitude toward the government has come about since they engaged in the Whiskey Rebellion, wrote the Kentucky Resolutions, intrigued with Spain and encouraged Burr.

Each recognized within himself great political capacity, such that he would willingly undertake to hold any office he could get, from postmaster to congressman. This confidence was inspired by the fact that he and his neighbors had organized the government, both state and local. All the institutions around him were his own handiwork, the product of his mind and hand. He wanted all the education he could get for himself and children, but he paid his taxes grudgingly.

Economically, he liked to picture himself self-sufficient and wholly independent. His ideal was a farm which furnished him all the necessities of life. He opposed the United States bank because the bank was too powerful. He could not meet it on the level. He preferred a canal to a railroad because on the canal he could launch his own boat and come and go independently of any other power. On a railroad he would have to accommodate his needs to another man's pleasure. He was in his glory floating down the Mississippi with a flatboat load of produce, dickering with the plantation owners on the way. Even thus abroad he maintained the natural simplicity of his life, not avaricious, not a close bargainer, but reveling in his freedom to buy or sell as he pleased. He made a spectacle when he ambled along the levee or in the fashionable streets of New Orleans or even Cincinnati, with his pant legs hooked over the inside ear of his boots. He was such a robust animal him-

self he couldn't help but pity the whole world except his own neighbors in Indiana.

§ 107 ILLITERACY AND POPULATION

The greatest social problem of this period was illiteracy. Up to 1850 the state government, on account of lack of resources, had been unable to furnish schools, but the great increase of wealth during the fifties enabled it to begin the work. The illiteracy of the period was enough to cause alarm but it would be a mistake to confuse this illiteracy with ignorance. Many a skillful farmer was unable to read, but it would be wrong to call him ignorant. The statistics which are given below produced an effect wholesome on the people but largely unwarranted by the actual conditions. Throughout the east it had a tendency to make the name Hoosier a synonym for stupidity. The two decades preceding 1860 brought an increase of population of 700,000, most of whom were poor. One need not expect a great amount of social polish in a society that more than doubles in two decades, one generation.¹⁷

¹⁷ The following statistics are given as a background to this whole chapter. Note the shifting of population and especially the growth of the northern part of the state.

POPULATION OF INDIANA IN 1840, 1850 AND 1860

County	1840	1850	1860
Adams	2,264	5,774	9,252
Allen .. .	5,931	10,921	29,328
Bartholomew	10,036	12,532	17,865
Benton ...	....	1,144	2,800
Blackford ...	1,226	2,864	4,122
Boone	7,804	11,629	16,753
Brown	2,363	4,946	6,507
Carroll	7,780	11,025	13,490
Cass	5,490	10,922	16,843
Clarke	14,595	15,836	20,502
Clay	6,568	8,134	12,161
Clinch	7,490	11,871	14,505

ILLITERACY AND POPULATION

605

County	1840	1850	1860
Crawford	5,282	6,518	8,226
Darless	6,679	10,354	13,323
Dearborn	19,638	20,165	24,406
Decatur	12,178	15,100	17,294
Dekalb	1,967	6,257	13,880
Delaware	8,488	10,976	15,753
Dubois	3,634	6,230	10,394
Elkhart	6,704	12,903	20,886
Fayette	9,838	10,140	10,225
Floyd	9,454	14,870	20,183
Fountain	11,174	13,280	16,506
Franklin	13,444	17,914	19,549
Fulton	2,013	5,864	9,422
Gibson	8,970	10,782	14,532
Grant	4,940	11,002	15,797
Greene	8,321	12,247	16,041
Hamilton . . .	9,832	12,696	17,810
Hancock	7,567	9,714	12,802
Harrison	12,459	15,538	18,321
Hendricks	11,264	14,077	16,853
Henry	15,108	17,808	20,119
Howard .....	.....	8,607	12,524
Huntington	1,601	7,850	14,807
Jackson	8,960	11,030	16,286
Jasper	1,277	8,424	4,201
Jay	8,877	7,051	11,309
Jefferson	16,644	23,931	26,038
Jennings	8,743	12,541	14,749
Johnson	9,530	12,228	14,854
Knox	10,250	11,086	16,056
Kosciusko . . .	4,042	10,243	17,418
Lagrange	3,065	8,424	11,306
Lake	1,468	3,891	9,145
Laporte	8,194	12,169	22,919
Lawrence	11,790	12,210	13,092
Madison	8,904	12,497	16,518
Marion	18,118	24,289	39,855
Marshall	1,651	5,348	12,722
Martin	3,775	5,955	8,976
Miami	2,857	11,349	16,851
Monroe	9,996	11,283	12,847
Montgomery	14,405	18,227	20,888

County		1850	1890
Morgan	10,677	14,654	16,110
Newton			2,360
Noble	2,702	7,948	14,915
Ohio		5,310	5,482
Orange	8,580	10,818	12,078
Owen	8,254	12,040	14,376
Parke	13,559	15,049	15,538
Perry	4,513	7,251	11,847
Pike	4,710	8,599	10,078
Porter	2,172	5,250	10,318
Posey	9,641	12,387	16,167
Pulaski	561	2,595	3,711
Putnam	16,809	16,612	20,081
Randolph	10,681	14,804	18,097
Ripley	10,317	14,822	19,054
Rush	16,575	16,445	16,193
Scott	4,262	5,889	7,908
Shelby	11,907	15,446	19,569
Spencer	5,961	8,664	14,556
Stark	148	658	2,195
St. Joseph	6,415	10,955	18,455
Steuben	2,578	6,107	10,374
Sullivan	3,312	10,163	15,064
Switzerland	9,864	12,958	12,686
Tippecanoe	13,725	19,269	25,728
Tipton		3,534	8,170
Union	7,814	6,881	7,109
Vanderburgh	6,209	11,415	20,552
Vermillion	8,249	8,001	9,422
Vigo	12,076	14,093	22,517
Wabash	2,796	12,109	17,547
Warren	5,642	7,423	10,057
Warrick	6,820	8,622	13,261
Washington	15,278	17,068	17,009
Wayne	22,963	25,900	29,556
Wells	1,821	6,152	10,844
White	1,849	4,700	8,259
Whitley	1,040	5,190	10,730
Totals	683,814	990,253	1,350,428

ILLITERACY AND POPULATION

607

The following statistics from the *U. S. Census* will give an idea of the illiteracy in the state. In the first column are the numbers of white persons over 20 unable to write or read. In the second column are the same for 1850. In the third column are all over 10 who could not write in 1870.

County	1840	1850	1870
Adams	180	157	502
Allen	100	622	898
Bartholomew ..	649	1,170	2,085
Benton .....	...	86	499
Blackford	■	168	716
Boone	31	966	1,514
Brown	122	829	1,825
Carroll	■	965	954
Casa	457	173	856
Clarke	676	941	2,998
Clay	738	532	1,779
Clinton	■	1,061	1,419
Crawford	289	945	1,802
Davies	■	1,222	1,752
Dearborn	■	708	536
Decatur	151	1,301	1,048
DeKalb	75	614	736
Delaware	368	1,069	1,234
Dubois	532	441	535
Elkhart	114	1,067	1,463
Fayette	494	855	121
Floyd	642	1,061	1,321
Fountain	874	1,402	1,158
Franklin	68	698	1,188
Fulton .....	....	683	973
Gibson	1,044	1,201	2,190
Grant	321	1,121	1,067
Greene	740	1,521	2,518
Hamilton	2,271	1,319	1,400
Hancock	330	642	1,440
Harrison	419	89	1,987
Hendricks	924	1,306	1,505
Henry	495	971	1,652
Howard .....	....	155	1,008
Huntington	131	571	1,289
Jackson	1,412	1,428	3,145
Jasper .....	....	308	177

County	1840	1850	1870
Jay	895	420	1,235
Jefferson	123	1,553	1,291
Jennings . . . . .	....	494	1,890
Johnson	581	472	1,641
Knox	643	794	2,504
Kosciusko	364	1,092	1,501
Lagrange	163	104	353
Lake	7	131	416
Laporte	268	610	842
Lawrence	1,085	1,148	1,987
Madison	332	821	2,842
Marion	194	995	4,522
Marshall	62	468	1,363
Martin	520	1,594	2,135
Miami	251	1,074	1,903
Monroe	9	1,038	1,018
Montgomery	1,058	1,175	1,439
Morgan . . . . .	....	904	1,922
Newton . . . . .	....	....	178
Noble	182	365	621
Obio . . . . .	....	39	372
Orange	1,167	1,471	1,922
Owen	798	1,124	1,514
Parke	1,314	320	974
Perry	574	1,114	1,805
Pike	695	1,083	1,936
Porter	15	261	979
Posey . . . . .	....	1,538	1,263
Pulaski	41	172	499
Putnam	1,021	2,035	2,001
Randolph	333	1,179	874
Ripley	206	1,055	1,844
Rush	1,799	1,628	845
Scott	470	900	1,290
Shelby	878	1,646	1,496
Spencer	700	948	2,226
Starke	5	81	268
Stephen	51	63	586
St. Joseph	393	248	1,499
Sullivan	643	757	2,707
Switzerland	18	119	219
Tippacanoe	1,246	1,549	2,659
Tipton . . . . .	....	480	1,234

ILLITERACY AND POPULATION

609

County	1840	1850	1870
Union	200	92	59
Vanderburg	198	158	2,371
Vermillion	265	698	827
Vigo	698	1,613	2,608
Wabash	224	820	1,424
Warren	465	329	437
Warrick	715	381	2,332
Washington .. .	1,332	1,259	1,685
Wayne ,	42	1,091	1,200
Wells	230	585	812
White	15	401	604
Whitley	79	350	828
Totals	88,100	72,710	127,124

CHAPTER XXIII

CIVIL WAR POLITICS

§ 108 SLAVERY

The election of 1852 was not satisfactory to any party. The Whigs manifested little concern over the defeat or the fate of their party. The Democrats had made the political mistake of destroying the Whig party, the only power that could keep their own party united. The Whigs were released from party allegiance by the death of their party, the Democrats by the disappearance of opposition. The individuals of each party were thus left free to discuss any question that came up and form new alliances as circumstances arose. Several of these emergencies had already arisen before 1852 when nothing but the power of party discipline and the fear of defeat had held the Democrats together.

The one great question which interested every voter was slavery. No attempt had been made to train public opinion in the state. Political parties, the churches and the newspapers had, up to 1850, avoided the subject as much as possible in an official way. The Free Soil party had created some interest in 1844 and 1848, but, though it remained as a powerful influence, it had disappeared as an organized force. A few outright Abolitionists were active in the state but were not regarded seriously by the people. It seems that the majority of Indianians in 1852 preferred to let the question rest, but at the same time were apprehensive lest some one open it up

again. Hersin lay the cause of the tempest that followed the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

There had been very little sympathy for negroes in Indiana previous to 1852. The new constitution had prohibited free negroes coming into the state. A strict law required every one then in the state to register with his county clerk and one who failed to register was subject to the \$500 fine imposed on those who came into the state after October 1, 1851.¹ By a law of February 14, 1853, no person having one-eighth or more of negro blood could testify in court in any case in which a white person was interested.² These laws were driving the few colored people then in the state, who were able to move, from it.³ There seems to be ample evidence to show that this was the sentiment of the state previous to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the operations of the Fugitive Slave law of 1850.

However there were strong agencies then becoming active to change this attitude. In September, 1853, the Northern Indiana Methodist conference carried twelve resolutions condemning slavery in all its forms.⁴ Each Methodist preacher thenceforth

¹ *Revised Laws of Indiana*, 1852, ch. 74.

² *Laws of Indiana*, 1853, ch. 42. Passed by vote of 36 to 11 in the Senate and in the House, 56 to 10.

³ *Washington County Democrat*, July 22, 1853.

⁴ *Logansport Journal*, October 22, 1853. *Indianapolis Journal*, October 3, 1853. "The system of slavery is contrary to the doctrines of the Methodist Episcopal church. We believe it is the duty of the church to seek to remove slavery from the entire country. Whoever holds a slave is a sinner before God, violating in an unmistakable manner the second commandment. We believe the system of slave-raising worse than the African slave trade. The members of our church who hold slaves should be dealt with as for other gross immorality. The iniquitous Fugitive Slave law merits our hearty disapproval." The resolutions are given in full in both papers.

became an anti-slavery agitator. Having no regard for political effect these men soon incurred the enmity of the Democratic politicians. John L. Robinson, United States marshal for Indiana, in an address before the Democratic state convention in 1854 referred to the preachers as the "3000 Abolitionists sent out of New England," and as "non-taxpaying, itinerant vagabonds."² The *State Sentinel* warned preachers in general from meddling with politics and attending conventions, cautioning them to stick to the gospel.³ Governor Wright withdrew his membership from Strange Chapel Methodist church at Indianapolis because the minister persisted in talking politics from the pulpit.⁴ The Quakers were just as active in denouncing slavery as the Methodists, though, due to lack of numbers and organization, they were not so effective. Moreover, having always strenuously opposed slavery, people were not so much excited by their work.

During the year 1853 accounts of fugitive slave cases appeared frequently in the Indiana newspapers. The iniquity of the business soon forced the editors to plead the cause of humanity. Each section of the state was aroused by the capture of some fugitive in the vicinity.⁵

² Indianapolis Journal, June 24, 1854.

³ Indianapolis State Sentinel, August 10, 1854.

⁴ Indianapolis Journal, January 22 and 23, 1855.

⁵ "We would ask every man who prefers justice to expediency, humanity to the cold-blooded schemes of selfish politicians and persistent slave-holders, how long a system so degrading to man and so dishonorable to God shall be permitted to continue."—Logansport Journal, February 13, 1853. Of like temper is the following extract from a letter by Henry Ward Beecher referring to the Freeman outrage:

"So deadening has been the influence of slavery upon the public mind that religious teachers and religious editors will find not a word to say against this utter abomination. Meanwhile,

§ 109 TEMPERANCE

During the session of 1853 the General Assembly attempted to legislate on the liquor question. There had been, for a score or more of years, agitation in favor of regulating the liquor traffic. In 1839, in response to petitions from various parts of the state, the Judiciary committee, through Amory Kinney, of Vigo county, its chairman, made a report on the liquor traffic, at the same time introducing a bill limiting the sale. The committee reported that the use of liquor was vicious, entailing on the state an estimated annual loss of \$1,738,100. This sum they said would school every child in the state. It would take more sagacity, they continued, than any member of the committee possessed, to point any good to the community resulting from this waste. There seemed to be an average of ten groceries for each county and three habitual loafers caused by each. In Indiana alone the annual death toll from drunkenness was 1,300; it required each circuit court six days per year to dispose of cases arising directly from the traffic; its chemical effect was entirely injurious to the human system; the so-called temperate drinker was a myth; he was only in the first stage of drunkenness; drinking was the cause of three-fourths of all crime, pauperism, criminal court expense and insanity in the state; the right of a man to destroy his own usefulness, ruin his family and throw the wreckage on the expense of society, was denied. In short, in this report will be found the whole case against

the same God who permits tarantulas, scorpions, and other odious vermin suffers also the existence of such creatures as the Reverend Mr. Ellington * * * to crush the human heart, to eat up a living household, to take a family into one's hand and crush it like a cluster of grapes. This is respectable, legal, and Christian in the estimation of cotton patriots and patriotic Christians who regard law greater than justice, the Union as more important than

the liquor traffic." The bill was defeated by a vote of 43 to 31.

In 1839 a petition by the Yearly meeting of Quakers was presented to the General Assembly asking that millers be not required, as was the case under the law of 1831, to grind grain intended for the distilleries.¹⁰ A favorable report was made from a select committee by Elwood Fisher, of Switzerland, and a bill introduced but never pressed to a vote. In the same year, in response to a petition asking the prohibition of retailing, Robert M. Cooper, of Henry county, chairman of the Ways and Means committee, reported that it was inexpedient to legislate on the subject.¹¹

The General Assembly of 1846 enacted a law per-
public virtue and practical Christianity."—*Indiana Free Demo-*
crat, August 4, 1853.

¹⁰ *House Journal*, 1838, p. 692, seq. "It is the settled opinion of the committee that all our license laws should be repealed."

¹¹ *House Journal*, 1839, p. 145: "The Quakers have now for many years made it an obligation of their discipline as a religious society, to abstain entirely, except in cases of sickness, from the use of ardent spirits and have as a people been a shining example of sobriety to the rest of the community. They have demonstrated by their own experience the happy practical tendency of temperance to health, order, industry, and competence, and thereby given the first mighty impulse to the great cause of temperance reform, which for the last few years has made such progress in the civilized world. They have given, by their practice, the most ample evidence of the sincerity of their profession, and in the present memorial only aim to secure the right of making a pecuniary sacrifice of a portion of their business for the support of their principles and testimony. They do not now, they never have in any case, sought to compel a conformity of others to their views. They simply request to be exempted from all agency in converting the bounty of heaven into what they justly consider a curse. Nor do they ask this privilege for themselves alone, but for all others of like principles on this subject, of whom there is a large number."

¹² *House Journal*, 1839, p. 872.

mitting the voters of each township at the annual spring election to place on their ballots "No License" and if a majority of the ballots were so marked there should be no retailing during the following year. Harrison and Rush counties upon "special request" were exempted from this act."

During the session of 1849 a memorial with 10,000 signatures was presented to the General Assembly asking for state-wide prohibition. A select committee reported such a bill with a local option feature, but it was lost on third reading by a vote of 61 to 26.¹⁸

The agitation against the retailers rapidly gained strength. Organizations of the Social Order of Temperance and of Washingtonians were effected in every community. The evangelical churches placed themselves solidly behind the movement.¹⁹

The Whig papers, though their party was out of power, supported the movement, while the Demo-

¹⁸ *Laws of Indiana*, 1846, ch. VII.

¹⁹ *House Journal*, 1849, p. 780.

²⁰ "We believe that the time has come for all philanthropists to take a firm stand against the manufacture, sale and drinking of liquor. You might as well tell me that moderate drinking of hemlock is temperance as that the moderate use of ardent spirits is temperance. Temperance men in times past have directed their efforts against the drinking and retail traffic, while the great fountain of misery and death ran on. It strikes us very forcibly that the manufacturer and wholesale dealer must be stopped. We are told that this is a free country, but we deny that any man has the right to engage in a business that will injure his neighbor. As members of a community, we owe something to the great family of men, and the manufacture of ardent spirits is the great source from which flows upon the community a terrible stream of moral evil, which is spreading devastation, ruin, misery, infamy and death throughout the land, turning man into a demon, and every year robbing us of forty thousand citizens, we say in view of this that no man has the right to manufacture the stuff, and certainly no church ought to tolerate it a single day."—*Christian Record*, February, 1852, J. M. Mathes, editor.

cratic politicians insisted that the whole question was moral and should not be brought into politics.¹³

Governor Wright in his message of 1853 recommended legislation on the sale of intoxicants, though he had no specific remedy for the evil. He attributed the failure of the license law to the failure to enforce it. He specifically asked that drunkenness be made a crime and that drunkards be disqualified from making a contract or controlling property.¹⁴

The committee on temperance, however, recommended that legislation on the liquor traffic and drunkenness was inexpedient. Harris Reynolds, of Fountain county, chairman of the Senate committee on temperance, in response to a petition with over 7,000 signatures, introduced a bill providing for local option.

This bill was defeated in the Senate. But a special house committee, headed by John B. Milroy, of Carroll county, reported a bill February 9, which passed the House, February 24, after an attempted filibuster, by a vote of 53 to 43 and the Senate on call by 30 to 15. The members were very reluctant to go on record, but feared to oppose.¹⁵ The law pre-

¹³ The *Free Democrat* of Indianapolis, organ of the Free Soilers, supported: "There is a class who say Temperance is a moral question and should not be dragged into politics. We say it is moral and political. It has been a political question since the first grog shop was licensed to dispense liquid poison." November 19, 1853.

¹⁴ Governor's Message, *House Journal*, 1853, p. 23. "Its haggard victims meet us everywhere. They crowd our almshouses, hospitals, jails, and penitentiaries. They throng upon every avenue of life, chilling us with an overpowering sense of their wretchedness and moral degradation. If the walls of the widow and the destitution of the orphan reach not our hearts, considerations of economy, in the administration of the law, should not be disregarded. Humanity and public policy alike demand a corrective."

¹⁵ *Senate Journal*, 1853, p. 535; *House Journal*, p. 742.

vented retailing, that is, selling less than one gallon, except on an affirmative vote by a majority of the voters of a township at the April election."¹⁸ Several of the leading cities of the state voted dry in the following April election, but the option feature of the law was declared unconstitutional by the supreme court, November 29, 1853, in a test case by a retailer named Maize, of Tippecanoe county, after which the state settled back to the old system.¹⁹

The fight went bravely on during the years 1853 and 1854. In each county meetings were held at which hundreds of men signed the pledge to drive the traffic out of the state.²⁰ In Wayne county the lawyers resolved not to defend any one charged with violation of the liquor laws.²¹ At a meeting in Indianapolis a committee was appointed to make a report on the liquor business. There were found forty-four retailers, of whom thirty-three were Germans, three Irish, three colored, and two native Hoosiers.²² The Germans resented this interference with their private business and ordered a boycott of all business men who opposed them and they agreed not to support any candidate who affiliated with the anti-liquor party.

A state convention of the temperance workers met at Madison, September 27 and 28, 1853, and issued a set of resolutions.²³ By the end of the year eighteen newspapers, all Whig and Free Soil, were

¹⁸ *Washington Democrat*, April 22, 1853.

¹⁹ *Indianapolis Journal*, December 6, 1853. The substance of the decision was that the General Assembly had no right to legislate by referendum. The full text of the decision is given January 5, 1854.

²⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, August 19, 1853.

²¹ *Washington Democrat*, Feb. 10 and 17, 1853.

²² *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 16, 1853.

²³ *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 1, 1853.

supporting the cause."²⁴ The Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance held a meeting in Temperance Hall, Indianapolis, October 26, 1853, and issued a call for a State Temperance convention to meet at Indianapolis on the second Wednesday of January, 1854.²⁵

The People's party in 1854, having succeeded in electing a General Assembly favorable to prohibition that body on February 16, 1855, placed on the statute books a sweeping prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicants.²⁶ The law, however, was never given a trial. A test case was brought in Indianapolis and rushed through the supreme court, where, in an opinion by Judge Samuel E. Perkins, the whole law was overthrown.²⁷

This decision left it clear to the propagandists that they must limit their efforts to regulation. The General Assembly had repealed the old license law, so that there then remained nothing on the statute books to limit or regulate the liquor traffic.²⁸

At a meeting of the leading men of the temperance party a call was ordered for a convention to meet at Indianapolis, February 22, 1856.²⁹ This meeting, presided over by John A. Matson, of Putnam county, issued a set of spirited resolutions. The

²⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, Dec. 30, 1853.

²⁵ *Washington Democrat*, Jan. 20, 1854. The resolutions sum up the arguments for and against a Maine Law: "Can't enforce it; personal liberty; vested capital; loss of employment, unconstitutional, moral question for church. For it is unhealthy; causes crime; demoralizes society; provokes lawlessness, unlawful."

²⁶ *Laws of Indiana*, 1855, ch. CV.

²⁷ *Beebe v. State*, *Indiana Reports*, VI, 501. Judge William E. Stuart in a separate opinion held only the prohibition on manufacture void. Judge Samuel B. Gookins in a separate opinion held the law good.

²⁸ *Laws of Indiana*, 1855, ch. CVI.

²⁹ *State Journal*, Jan. 24, 1856.

fight, however, waned. The Democrats regained control of the General Assembly in 1856, and December 21, 1858, at a called session formally repealed the prohibition law of 1855.²⁰ On the fifth of March, 1859, the old license law was again put back on the law book of the state where in substance it remained until the adoption of the 18th Amendment. As a parting shot a House committee in 1861 asked that an asylum for inebriates be established by the state to take care of the victims of the liquor habit.²¹

§ 110 KNOW NOTHINGS

Along with the agitation against slavery and the liquor traffic there sprang up a movement known as Know-nothingism to limit immigration. The movement arose and ran its early course in New York city, but beginning to spread about 1845 it had by 1854 become national. The party founded on this issue had nothing in common with either the anti-slavery or the anti-liquor party. The movement took on the form of a secret society with all the provisions of grip, password, ritual and obligation. The first of

²⁰ *Laws of Indiana, 1858, ch. XV.*

²¹ *House Journal, 1861, p. 787* "It is a well-known fact that long-continued inebriation produces mental aberration, delirium tremens, and insanity, of which thousands die annually, and the number of the victims and the magnitude of the evils are constantly increasing. * * * The state has decided to continue the system of licensing persons to sell intoxicating liquors (whether wholly or not, your committee do not now propose to inquire), and the revenues derived from that source amount to over sixty thousand dollars annually. That the legitimate result of the system is to make drunkards, produce disease and death, is a proposition too plain for argument. If, then, the State be in any manner responsible for the existence of the disease, or if it continued to produce the existing condition of things, ought it not to use the money thus derived to alleviate the sufferings of the unfortunate victims of the policy of licensing such establishments?"

these lodges in Indiana was organized in Dearborn county sometime in February, 1854. Before the close of the year their triangular pieces of paper could be seen on the streets of almost any town in the state, pointing mysteriously to the place where the lodge, wigwam or council met.

The Democratic newspapers rose in wrath at these "ill-omened birds of the night." The old Whig newspapers also joined formally in deploring such meetings, but remained strangely cool and serene. By the middle of the summer of 1854 it was estimated that in the state from 30,000 to 50,000 members belonged. The Democratic party was apprehensive of danger. In Masonic hall, Indianapolis, July 11, 12 and 14, the new party held a state convention. Many leading Whig editors and politicians were present—out of mere curiosity, they explained. None of them apparently knew anything about the order. Judge William J. Peaslee, of Shelbyville, presided. Godlove S. Orth became leader of the order in the state. The old patriarch of the Methodist church, Rev. James Havens, was chaplain. There is no doubt that the society in Indiana was composed of the opponents of Democratic power. Its close affiliation with the Peoples' party in 1854 was shown by the fact that a large number of the delegates to the Know Nothing council remained as delegates to the Peoples' convention which met immediately after the council adjourned. The ticket nominated by the Peoples' convention had previously been selected in the Know Nothing council. The Democrats of 1854 made their campaign largely against this unseen foe. Governor Wright, Jesse Bright and Graham Fitch were especially severe in their denunciation of this "party with one idea," this "dark lantern party," these "birds of the night," "owls" and "midnight conspirators."

As far as can be ascertained from the newspapers

of the time, both friendly and hostile, the party stood for the repeal of all naturalization laws, the election of none but native Americans, a purely American common school system, opposition to the Roman Catholic church, opposition to all secret societies composed of foreigners, and a general emphasis on all strictly American ideas and institutions.²²

The Know Nothings played a part in the national election of 1856, but by 1858 the slavery question had almost completely overshadowed it. It drew nearly all its support from the old Whig party, its other source being the Free Soil faction of the Democrats and the more radical members of the Protestant churches. The new Republican party swallowed up its organization and membership in Indiana so that by 1860 its strength was gone. Its constitution provided that all its members should be Protestants of good character, over twenty-one years of age and native born. The resolutions of the Indiana Grand council of 1855 declared against the extension of slavery, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, for a prohibition law and for free schools, free speech, a free Bible, a free press, and endorsed Millard Fillmore for President.²³

§ 111 SWAMP LANDS

By an act of Congress, September 28, 1850, designed to enable the states having "swamp lands" within their limits to reclaim them, Indiana received over one million acres of such land. The secretary of

²² This text is based on a paper entitled "Know Nothings of Indiana," prepared by Carl F. Brand. He had access to a large number of Indiana newspapers and made a thorough, scholarly study of the movement.

²³ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 17, 1855; for the platform of 1856 see *Journal*, July 18, 1856; for that of 1857 see *Journal*, Feb. 18, 1857. These, together with the rituals, are given in Mr. Brand's paper, "Know Nothings of Indiana."

the interior was authorized to make out plats and accurate lists of such land for the use of the governor in each state. The proceeds of the sale were to be applied exclusively, as far as necessary, to the reclaiming of such land by means of levees and drains.

Indiana at first undertook to place the land upon the market at a fixed price per acre. It was not long, however, until rumors of great frauds were in circulation and at last the state legislature was forced by public sentiment to order an investigation. A legislative committee reported irregularities implicating either directly or indirectly, some of the leading politicians as well as several state and county officers. The report showed frauds varying from the open transfer, illegally, without compensation to the state of thousands of acres of land to the embezzling of fees by state and county officers. In the first manner fourteen thousand dollars were reported to have been taken from the treasury, while at least seventy-five thousand dollars had been retained illegally by state officers from money received from the sale of land. The report also showed that extravagant sums, amounting to many thousands of dollars, had been paid to individuals appointed to make selections of land for the state; showed a loss to the Swamp Land fund on account of frauds in the issuing of patents of about ten thousand dollars; and that the officers of the state retained ten per cent upon the gross amount of sales of swamp land made by the counties over and above their fee, without authority by law for doing so.

In Jasper county alone over one hundred and twenty-four thousand acres of land were illegally deeded away without compensation to the state in any form. Jacob Merkle, treasurer of Jasper county (1853-7), was charged by the committee with having illegally withheld one hundred thousand dollars and having compromised by giving his notes for twenty-

four thousand dollars. These notes were never paid and later misappropriations made him a defaulter of over one hundred and twenty-seven thousand dollars. While thus indebted to the state he was appointed by the governor a Swamp Land commissioner of his county. This was by no means the only case and is cited here only for illustration.

In Lake county frauds were committed by Swamp Land Commissioner Childs, in connection with the county treasurer. In this case several thousand dollars were paid out on ditch contracts which were never fulfilled. Reports were also made of extensive frauds under former commissioners in the same county.

Evidence was found likewise as to frauds in regard to the management of the Swamp Land interests in Pulaski county, while over nine thousand dollars was paid illegally to Benjamin Reynolds and other partners in White county on fraudulent claims. No action was ever taken in the matter by the state, though its loss through these frauds has been variously estimated at from seven hundred fifty thousand to two million dollars.

§ 112 UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

Ever since the earliest settlements in Indiana there had been some trouble over the rescue by their masters of runaway slaves. The matter had been aggravated by slave dealers kidnapping free negroes in Indiana and selling them into slavery. Under the old Fugitive Slave law the citizens of Indiana aided the fugitives or not just as they preferred without much danger from the law. However, under the Fugitive Slave law of 1850 any citizen, if requested, had to join in the capture of the fugitive. A large number of Indiana citizens were conscientiously op-

posed to this and an attempt to compel usually put them actively on the other side.

About this time a secret association of eastern Abolitionists sent agents to strategic points along the Ohio river border to assist the fleeing slaves. Thus encouraged, many slaves succeeded in reaching Canada. Due to their success in escaping, coupled with the persuasion of Abolition agents, the slaves throughout Kentucky and Missouri became restless and thousands made the break for liberty. Those persons who were actively engaged in the rescue work soon banded together into chains of stations across the state, which the refugees followed toward Canada. These routes came to be known as "underground railroads." It was the duty of those persons at one station to hide, to protect, and in due time and opportunity to forward the negro to the next station. Every obstacle was placed in the way of the master who came in pursuit. In the conflicts between these men the sympathy of the neighborhood was invariably on the side of the slave. The masters or slave hunters by means of liberal rewards soon developed a class of professional slave catchers in southern Indiana. These slave catchers were strictly within their legal rights, but necessarily soon forfeited their reputation in the community, if indeed, they ever had any. A few instances will show how these incidents affected the communities in which they happened and through them the whole state.

In the early fifties there was great demand for laborers on the southern end of the Wabash and Erie canal. Two free negroes who lived near Owensboro came up to work. On one occasion as they were on their way home from Point Commerce and had reached Washington they were approached by a man who informed them he was on his way to Rockport with a two-horse team and would be glad to have

them ride with him. After a few minutes parley the white man said he would be ready in a few hours at which time another white man had joined the former. The party set out about four o'clock, reaching Petersburg at sunset. Their conduct on the road and at Petersburg excited so much suspicion among the Abolitionists there that a rescue party was organized by Dr. John W. Posey. The kidnappers were joined at Petersburg by other confederates who, all together, started for Rockport about three o'clock next morning. Somewhere near Winslow the colored men were overpowered, bound and gagged. The rescue party gathered some new recruits, hastened on past the kidnappers, and in northern Warrick county secured a writ from a squire and arrested them. The kidnappers then produced a handbill, apparently printed several weeks before at a town in Tennessee, accurately describing the negroes. The rescuers knew this had been printed in Washington, while the negroes were waiting, but no one could swear to it; so the men were permitted to proceed with their victims. Having thus failed by legal means, the rescuers sought a favorable place where a few hours later they liberated the negroes by force.²⁴

A slave named Rachel lived with her husband and several children at Lexington, Kentucky. Her story was the common one. After twelve or fifteen years under indulgent masters the owner of her husband was compelled to sell him to New Orleans. She had little time to grieve until her own master died, leaving her and her children to mount the auction block. Soon a Mississippi planter put her to work in the cotton fields. Having spent her previous life in her mistress's kitchen she was unable to do a creditable

²⁴ This story was first published in the *Washington Sun*, from which it was copied by a number of other Indiana papers. It is best told by Col. W. M. Cuckram, *Pioneer Indiana*, 576.

day's work and was whipped daily. She ran away and in four months had walked by night to Lexington where she hoped someone would buy her and keep her near her children, the youngest of which was only three. She was soon recaptured by her owner, handcuffed and hobbled by a chain and ball riveted on her ankles. On her way to Louisville she crept out of the wagon, shackled as she was, hid in a ravine, made her way by night to the Ohio river opposite Madison, crossed and found a refuge a few miles back in Indiana. Driven from there by her pursuers she passed on from station to station till she reached the home of Levi Coffin at Newport. Here she remained safe for nearly six months while the sores caused by the iron bands on her ankles healed. She was an intelligent woman and scores of people heard her tell her experiences."

"Toney" escaped from his owner in Kentucky and made his way north along the New Albany & Chicago railroad as far as Monroe county. Here he was nabbed by a band of professional slave hunters. The Underground Railroad agents of the neighborhood secured a writ from the circuit court and freed the victim, but the simple-minded negro immediately joined other members of the kidnappers who promised to take him to Canada. Toney observed with fear that they were taking him south, but did not have an opportunity to escape until he had been led back almost to Salem. Here he slipped away and hid in a corn field until night, when he again turned north. This time he fell into more friendly hands. He hid in the neighborhood of Bloomington till the hunters had left his trail, when, hidden under some sacks of wheat in a farmer's wagon, he embarked for Mooresville. The incident aroused great interest at

²⁰ *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin*, 160.

the State university where were a number of young men from the southern states attending school.²²

The so-called Underground Railroad was an improvised system. Only a few men were regularly employed by the anti slavery league and most, if not all, of these were stationed on the Ohio river. Stories have come down of highly educated young men spending years in shacks along the banks of the Ohio, fishing, examining the river, or studying science, or making secret trips into Kentucky, selling notions to the farmers. On prominent points on the bank of the Ohio where they could be seen up and down the long reaches they kept their fires burning throughout the nights. Mysterious flames of light often flashed out from the Kentucky side, exciting the curiosity of these scientists, so much that they at once pushed off in their skiffs to investigate. One of these silent fishermen watched the long reach between Evansville and Henderson. Fugitives crossing here passed north by Princeton toward Bloomingdale, following either White river or the Wabash. From Bloomingdale they made their way either to Toledo, Michigan City or into the state of Michigan. A second important crossing was in the neighborhood of Owensboro and Rockport, whence the slaves made their way north by Petersburg, hiding there in the coal mines, and thence either by Mooresville or Morgantown, or by Plainfield and Noblesville. At Louisville, New Albany and Jeffersonville many crossed, hiding with friends in the hill country back of New Albany, whence after their pursuers had gone, they made their way north by Salem and Bloomington. A regular ferryman was stationed near Madison and Vevay, from which ferry the fugitives scattered throughout Jefferson, Ripley and

²² H. L. Smith, in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XIII, 222.

Jennings counties, making their way thence by the Madison & Indianapolis railroad to Indianapolis, by the Michigan road to Greensburg, or still more frequently to Newport in Wayne county, where Levi Coffin, prince of conductors, assisted them on to Toledo and Detroit. A large number of fugitives crossing at Covington and Cincinnati dodged back into Indiana to elude their pursuers, whence from Wayne and Fayette counties they passed on with those from Madison and Vevay.

No definite numbers can be given for these escaping slaves, but it is certain there were thousands of them.

As far as alleviating the miseries of the slaves or settling the slavery question is concerned the results of the Underground Railroad are negligible. The great influence must be sought in the changed attitude of the people on the question of slavery. It is the consensus of opinion that an overwhelming majority of the people of southern Indiana in 1850 were indifferent to the evils of slavery, at least so long as the evils were restricted to the southern states; but the continued agitation produced by negro hunters rapidly aroused the indignation of most of the people. The appearance of one of these black wretches, naked, hungry, friendless, chased by haughty, swaggering horsemen with dogs, excited pity, disgust and at last indignation; so that by the end of the decade the slave chasers were hated by all men and women except those pecuniarily interested. The slave owners of Kentucky and Tennessee, conscious of their own personal rectitude and their legal rights, were also indignant that a whole people, as they viewed it, should conspire to rob them of their property and violate the plain law of the United States. Especially were the United States marshal and his assa-

tants, whose duty it was to help catch the refugees, held in contempt by the people of Indiana."

§ 113 IMMIGRATION

The years from 1848 to 1860 were marked by heavy foreign immigration into the Ohio valley. Indiana received fewer of these immigrants than any other state, yet the character of the state was more affected than at any other time in its history. At the close of the period there were 118,184 foreign-born persons in the state, almost one in ten of the total. Of these, over half or 66,705 were from Germany. Ireland ranked next with 24,495; then England with 9,304; France with 6,176. The Germans came from all parts of the empire, Prussia leading with 12,067. An examination of the annual immigration reports shows that the volume of immigrants into the United States increased rapidly from 1844 to 1854 when it reached 427,433, its highest mark before the Civil war. It fell sharply then to 154,640 in 1860.

The Irish, French and English, though totalling 40,975 in Indiana, were so well dispersed over the state that they soon were lost in the general mass. Large numbers of the Irish, after building the canals and railroads, located on farms. Irish neighborhoods could be found for a generation or two in which many of the customs of old Erin were maintained, but no great effort was ever made to perpetuate their

¹⁷ The best accounts of this work are *The Underground Railroad*, by Col. William M. Cockrum. His father at Oakland City and his neighbor, Dr. John Posey, of Petersburg, harbored scores of slaves and sent them on their way to freedom. *Reminiscences*, by Levi Coffin, who was the leader of the anti-slavery people of Wayne county. The Quakers were especially sensitive to the sufferings of the slaves and their houses were always open to them. The county histories contain a vast amount of this material, mostly in traditional form. The old newspapers are the best sources, though only a small part of the entire material ever found its way into print.

culture. They soon joined heartily in all American sports, labors and duties, taking active part in politics. In fact these late Irish comers found about as much Irish blood in America as they left in Ireland. The same observations will apply to the French and English in even larger degree. In the county histories and here and there in the newspapers one comes across evidence of these neighborhoods, but they soon melted away.²⁰

The Germans as a rule settled in the towns, forming compact neighborhoods, in which they retained their German language and customs as long as possible. They held out longest of the immigrants against the Americanizing tendencies. In Indianapolis, Evansville, Fort Wayne, Laporte, Lafayette, New Albany and other places they published newspapers, conducted schools, churches and business in the German language. Their secret *vereins*, forced upon them by centuries of tyranny in Germany, in which they did about what the older settlers were doing in their singing schools, spelling matches and other social pastimes, were objects of suspicion to the natives. They combined business and politics whenever they took any interest in the latter.

Organized effort was made to perpetuate their language and customs. Few Irish or French children, born in Indiana, either learned or cared to learn any but the English language, but the Germans almost invariably learned the German, the parents insisting that it be taught in the schools and used in their own churches. In 1858 and 1859 they secured the publication of the state laws in the German lan-

²⁰ For a French settlement, see article by Alice Green, *Indiana Magazine of History*, XI, 64. For an English colony, see Dr. John M. Poucher, *Indiana Magazine of History*, XI 211. Around Leopold and St. Croix in the center of Perry county there is a large settlement of French dating from this period.

gauge," and in 1869 they secured a law giving them the power to demand the teaching of the German language in the common schools.³⁹

Marion county had 6,395 foreign-born population in 1860 out of a total of 39,855; Laporte county, 5,008 out of 22,919; Vanderburg, 8,374 out of 20,552; Floyd, 3,836 out of 20,183; Lake, 2,649 out of 9,145; Tippecanoe, 4,126 out of 25,726; Allen, 6,842 out of 29,328; Dearborn, 5,871 out of 24,406; and Dubois, 2,764 out of 10,394. Each of these counties still has a strong German element where the customs of the fatherland are revered. The Germans as a rule became business men. They introduced and have largely carried on the brewing business in the state.⁴¹

³⁹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1850, ch. LXXII.

⁴⁰ *Laws of Indiana*, 1860, ch. XV.

⁴¹ While not strictly belonging to this section, the statistics of the birthplace of Indiana's American-born population as given in the census of 1890 are given here because of its bearing on this and the following chapter. There were born in—

Alabama	358	New Hampshire	1,072
Arkansas	223	New Jersey	8,202
California	58	New York ..	30,855
Connecticut	2,505	North Carolina ..	20,942
Delaware	2,301	Ohio ..	171,245
Florida	20	Oregon	8
Georgia	561	Pennsylvania	57,210
Illinois	7,925	Rhode Island, ..	455
Indiana	774,721	South Carolina	2,002
Iowa	1,944	Tennessee	10,356
Kansas	62	Texas	96
Kentucky	68,588	Vermont ..	8,539
Louisiana	557	Virginia	36,848
Maine	1,293	Wisconsin	679
Maryland	9,673	District of Columbia ..	222
Massachusetts	3,443	Territories	29
Michigan	2,701	At sea ..	04
Minnesota	161	Not stated	1,710
Mississippi	350		
Missouri	1,679		
		Aggregate native..	1,232,244

§ 114 WOMAN'S RIGHTS

The women began an active campaign during the fifties to secure some measure of political self-protection. In the winter of 1843 the subject was brought before the public by a petition to the Assembly.¹ This was referred to the Judiciary committee, which a few days later made it the basis of some coarse humor, inspired evidently in a bar room.² The House promptly rejected the report and appointed a special committee, which seems never to have reported. The petition asked only the right of married women to retain property owned by them before marriage.

No further progress seems to have been made till 1846, when, under the leadership of Andrew L. Osborn, married women were given the right to make wills,³ and in the same year by a bill by James Gilluce exempting the wife's property at the time of her marriage from liability for the debts of her husband.⁴

In the constitutional convention of 1850 there was an attempt made to write the statute of 1846 into the constitution, but without success. In 1853 agitation for woman suffrage began. The movement culminated in a state convention at Indianapolis, October 27, 1854. Mrs. Smith, of Dublin, presided and Mrs. Frances D. Gage, of Ohio, was the principal speaker. The resolutions protested against all laws and social customs restricting women. They hoped for full equality with men in all fields of honest endeavor, especially in education and politics.⁵ The tone of the

¹ *House Journal*, 1843, p. 304.

² *House Journal*, 1843, p. 452.

³ *Senate Journal*, 1846, p. 141.

⁴ *Laws of Indiana*, 1846, ch. VI.

⁵ *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 28 and Nov. 4, 1854. "The right of suffrage is, in our opinion, the basis of our enterprise, since we do not seek to place woman under man's protection, but to give her the power to protect herself."

whole meeting, especially the speech by Mrs. Gage, was strangely suggestive. The women seem like peasants of the sixteenth century pleading for liberation and the attitude of the press and the members of the General Assembly was not such as one can speak of with pride. Even so gentle a man as Berry Sulgrove, editor of the *Journal*, speaks of the meeting, which he attended, with a coarseness not common to him.

In 1859 an attempt was made to exempt the personal property of wives from execution for the debts of their husbands and also allow them to have the wages they and their minor children earn in case the husbands are spendthrifts. The Judiciary committee report on this modest bill shows the prevailing view at the time.* On January 19, 1859, the two Houses assembled together to hear an address on woman suffrage by Mrs. Mary F. Thomas, who at the same time presented a petition from the women of the state. The General Assembly did her the honor to print her address in both journals.† Perhaps the women would long ago have received their due in this

* *House Journal*, 1859, p. 505. "Said bill proposes to establish two distinct sovereignties in every family making the wife co-equal in dignity and power with the husband, and thus to destroy the last vestige of the doctrine of the Common Law, which supposed a man and a wife to be one. It goes so far as to prohibit a married man from selling, exchanging, or in any way parting with his personal property, without the consent of his wife first had and obtained, and in case he should have the temerity to dispose of the same, the wife may, in her own name, sue for and recover such property. The committee are not yet prepared to establish the right of women upon so broad a basis, and therefore recommend that the same be indefinitely postponed."

† *Senate Journal*, 1859, p. 186. The address is an admirable statement of the plea for suffrage. The only answer the Assembly had was that it would mar the beauty of the Common Law.

matter had it been in the power of the General Assembly to grant it directly.*

§ 115 ELECTION OF 1854

The preceding sections will give the reader some sense of the difficulties of the period in the political field. The Whig party was dead. The Democratic party was without discipline and in danger of disintegration. The old platforms offered no solutions for the new problems. New organizations had to be made to face the new issues. Never has the political and organizing capacity of our people been more fully employed than during the period from 1854 to 1861. A new school system was being worked out; a new system of transportation was being built; the liquor traffic was demanding attention; the slavery question threatened to, and finally did, overwhelm all else; a new banking system was being tried; the farmers, two-thirds of all the people, were intent on the new agriculture. No wonder that in these chop seas the rickety old Whig party went to pieces.

January 11, 1854, there met at Indianapolis eleven hundred men who organized a state temperance convention and party. This convention voted an address and directed its followers to meet in

* The following quotation from a select committee on a proposed suffrage amendment shows how the sentiment was growing: "As a question of abstract right, the Committee have no doubt that, in accordance with the principles of a democratic form of government, females are entitled to the right of suffrage. But as to the political and moral results of the grant and exercise of this right, they are not so clear, yet in view of the past history and character of the female sex, in all ages and positions, the Committee are of the belief that the enforcement of this right by women of Indiana would not only tend to exalt and ennoble the sex themselves, but would eventually tend to promote the general welfare. They would therefore respectfully recommend the passage of the Joint Resolution." *House Journal*, 1863, p. 455.

county conventions throughout the state on the following February 22.⁹ The temperance question, the "seizure, confiscation and destruction" of all liquor held or offered for sale illegally, was thus placed in the hopper of the political mill. These men acknowledged no political allegiance, but declared that no one could get their votes who did not endorse their views on this question.¹⁰ This new movement so far cut across all party lines that out of 110 newspapers whose positions were known, all but ten favored the temperance movement.¹¹

Democrats were warned that this was a clever Whig bait to lure them into trouble.¹² Some of the Democrats proposed to take this question out of party politics by a popular referendum.¹³ No one attempted to conceal the gravity of the issue.¹⁴

The slavery demon, though slain in 1850, stalked in ghostly form into every political meeting. Indiana Democrats had agreed in their platform to consider the issue closed, when the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill struck Indiana like a spark in a magazine. All the smouldering fires broke into blaze. The Free Soilers in congress had conceded one point after another until now in dismay they saw the last barrier to slavery broken. Indiana had ten Demo-

⁹ *Logansport Journal*, Feb. 11, 1854.

¹⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 13, 1854.

¹¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 24, 1854.

¹² *Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 14, 1854. "If Whiggery and Abolitionism can throw in the temperance question as an auxiliary to aid them in electing a Whig legislature, they will achieve a triumph by the aid of temperance Democrats, which their political principles can never command."

¹³ *Logansport Pharos*, Feb. 22, 1854.

¹⁴ The contest next fall will be upon the temperance issue.
 * * * The temperance men stand with the balance of power in their hands." *Madison Courier*, quoted in *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Oct. 31, 1854.



cratic congressmen then and one Whig. These men saw their danger, but seven of the Democrats supported the bill removing the Missouri Compromise, one of the most sacred landmarks of the whole era of compromise legislation.

The delegates who assembled at the Democratic state convention in Indianapolis, May 24, 1854, were not suffering from mental stagnation. The Anti-Nebraskaes had met at Indianapolis, March 22, 1854, and passed a series of resolutions denouncing the bill as infamous and asking that congress defer action till it could hear from the people.¹⁴

Senator Jesse Bright arrived at Indianapolis the day before the convention and succeeding in holding the party in line for the national administration. This was not done without friction. Oliver P. Morton led a Free Soil bolt and quit the party. M. C. Garber, the most virile editor in the state, denounced the platform and quit the party.¹⁵ Governor Wright and his wing of the party were completely ignored.

On the 25th and 26th of April German representatives from all parts of the state met in Indianapolis to consult on their political course. They opposed, especially, the restrictions on immigration proposed by the Know Nothings and urged an income tax.¹⁶

An attempt was made by the Democratic politicians to resuscitate the Whig party, but after a considerable amount of oxygen had been injected into its body, resulting in a few twitchings of the muscles, it

¹⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 25, 1854.

¹⁵ *Indianapolis Journal*, May 27, 30 and June 3, 1854. The *New Albany Ledger* (Dem.) said the bill twice violated plighted faith. The *Princeton Democratic Clarion* called it a violation of a sacred compact. The *Lafayette Courier* (Dem.) called it an outrage. The *Madison Courier* (Dem.) repudiated it and the party.

¹⁶ *Indianapolis Journal*, June 3, 1854.

was pronounced a corpse.¹¹ The old-line Whigs were cordially invited to join the Democratic party.¹²

Meanwhile the call had gone out to all those opposed to the Democratic party, the temperance men, the anti-slavery men, the Know Nothings and the former Whigs to meet in convention at Indianapolis, July 13, 1854. A state council of Know Nothings met at Indianapolis on the two days preceding the convention, prepared a slate and wrote a platform.¹³ The meeting was called to order by Jacob Page Chapman, former editor of the *Sentinel*, and perhaps the greatest political editor ever produced in the state, while as its secretary sat M. C. Garber of the *Madison Courier*. Nothing is more significant of the deep political change than the defection of four of the leading Democratic editors—E. W. H. Ellis of the *Goshen Democrat*, M. C. Garber of the *Madison Courier*, Jacob Page Chapman of the *Sentinel*, and William B. Ellis of the *Lafayette Courier*, leaving John Norman of the *New Albany Ledger* to plead the cause of the Democratic party in a faint-hearted way, in order that he might continue in the patronage of the administration.¹⁴ The People's party, as the new alliance was called, placed a fusion ticket in the field and at the following polls elected it, to the great disgust of the loyal Democrats.

The Democrats at once began to discount their defeat. The people were blinded temporarily by pas-

¹¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, June 5, 1854, quoting the *Sentinel*. "Are you willing to quit the principles of the Whig party for the one-idea party opposed to slavery? Are you willing to yield the name Whig for that of Abolitionist? Clay, Webster, Harrison, Taylor invoke you from the tomb not to do it."

¹² *Indianapolis Sentinel* and *New Albany Ledger*, July 7, 1854.

¹³ Carl Brand, "Know Nothings of Indiana" *Mo.*, 25; *Indianapolis Chronicle*, July 20, 1854.

¹⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 14, 28 and 29, 1854; *Sentinel*, July 14.

sion; it was only a passing whim; the accidental conjunction of several unconnected bodies traveling unrelated orbits; and that its mutually hostile elements must soon fall apart.²² There was much truth in these observations, but they applied almost with equal force to the Democratic party.

Of the Indiana Democratic congressmen who voted for the Kansas-Nebraska bill, two were returned to congress, the remaining nine of the new delegation being Fusionists. The Fusion ticket was elected by a substantial majority.²³ The Democrats expressed grave apprehension concerning the future of the state, left as it would be in the hands of the riff-raff and visionaries. The state chairman, William J. Brown, called a meeting of the leaders of the Democratic party, January 4, to take stock of the situation. A. P. Hovey, Gordon Tanner, Oliver B. Torbert and other influential Democrats began a systematic organization of all the Democrats into clubs.²⁴

§ 116 REPUBLICAN PARTY

The Fusionists were jubilant over the election of 1854. Celebrations were held in various parts of the state where the different groups fraternized and congratulated each other under the spell of the party orators. The more thoughtful politicians, however, realized that the Fusionists were not a political party and that trouble would arise when the General Assembly met. They began therefore to lay plans for

²² *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 25, 1854. The editor of the *Sentinel*, William J. Brown, was the State chairman of the Democratic party, and had been driven from congress because his anti-slavery views were offensive to Senator Bright.

²³ *Documentary Journal*, 1855, p. 581. Third document from the last. The volume is not consecutively paged. For the vote by counties, see note 37 below.

²⁴ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Dec. 15 and 20, 1854.

the formation of a party, using such issues as seemed best and discarding those which gave little promise for the public welfare.

O. P. Davis, in a card to his supporters, in the Seventh district named the new party "Republican." This seems to have been one of the first uses of the name in Indiana.²⁶

The Democrats at once began to attack these combined opponents, training their guns especially on the Know Nothings. The Republicans gradually abandoned that position for the non-extension of slavery. Three principles were slowly sifted from the material of the fusion platform: the non-extension of slavery, a prohibitory liquor law, and citizenship as a condition of suffrage.²⁷ Many members of the new party favored abandoning all pretense of a platform and just supporting good men.²⁸ During the early months of 1855 petitions were circulated asking for a Republican mass meeting at Indianapolis, July 13, 1855. This meeting was called to order on that day by Charles Test. After listening to a number of speeches it drew up a set of resolutions expressing the principles of the new party and appointed a state central committee of fifteen.²⁹ During the year county conventions were held in all the counties. All shades of opinion were expressed in these meetings. Many of the older, prominent Whigs

²⁶ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Sept. 19, 1854. The card was not dated, but evidently was written about the last of August.

²⁷ *Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 3, 1855. The editor here calls it the Republican party.

²⁸ Letter of Daniel More in *Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 18, 1855. He discussed in this letter, which is printed entire, the changed attitude of the old parties which agreed to the Finality in 1852. "I would not give a cent for platforms in these days of political chicanery. What we want is men of nerve, grit and bottom. With such, no platform is necessary."

²⁹ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 14, 1855.

found difficulty in accepting the so-called American (Know Nothing) doctrine. Col. R. W. Thompson refused to join on account of the Abolition tendency and George W. Julian refused on account of the Know Nothing plank; the *New Albany Tribune* desired to renew the Whig party; and the anti-slavery crusade was not warm enough to suit the Quakers.²² The Democrats organized their foreign-born supporters into secret societies called "Sag Nichts" to oppose the Know Nothings. The third degree "Sag Nichts" were sworn to stand guard at the polls on election day. Editors of about forty Republican papers met at Indianapolis in November to organize a political, editorial association, the beginning of the present association.

There is considerable literature on the origin of the Republican party, but the subject is not easily understood. So various were the important issues dividing the people, so various are people's natures, so much of sentiment goes to making a political party, and so abundant is the conflicting evidence that one tries in vain for a completely satisfactory exposition. O. P. Morton joined the party because of its opposition to slavery. George W. Julian at the same time denounced it for its hypocritical attitude on the subject. George G. Dunn and R. W. Thompson were close friends, both of southern extraction, had sat in congress together as leaders of the Whig party in Indiana; the former joined the Republican party at once, the other supported the Constitutional Union party. How many joined the new party out of disgust at the management of the Democratic party; how many, on account of the corruption in the state government; how many, on account of the liquor traffic; how many, out of conscientious scrup-

²² See the *Spireland Address*, Aug. 14, 1855.

ples on the slavery question; how many, through fear that foreign-born citizens would destroy American ideals; and how many, through hope of political spoils, can now never be known. That all these factions existed in the Fusion party of 1854 seems certain. That the larger part of the Fusionists became Republicans in 1855 and 1856 is ascertainable from the election returns. By 1860 the Republicans had concentrated their energy and interest on the single purpose of confining slavery to the states in which it then existed.²¹ Credit for the organization of the Republican party in Indiana seems to belong in about equal measure to John D. Defrees and M. C. Garber, the former a Whig, the latter a Democrat.

§ 117 CAMPAIGN OF 1856

The People's party, by that time called Republican, was impatient for the election of 1856. The General Assembly of 1855, though nominally Fusion, had been balked by the supreme court in its effort to close the grog shops. The governor, a Democrat, had refused to call an extraordinary session. Although the Republicans outnumbered the Democrats in the General Assembly on joint ballot 81 to 69, the Senate, under control of the Democrats, refused to join in the election of a senator. As a result Indiana had only one senator from 1855 to 1857.

The war in Kansas was engrossing the attention of Indiana. Large numbers of Indianians who had recently gone to Kansas kept the mails full of letters giving details of the bloody struggle. These letters were published by scores in Indiana newspapers. Their burden was to the effect that if more anti-slavery settlers did not come to Kansas the territory would be lost to freedom. James H. Lane, who as an Indiana congressman had voted for the Kansas-Nebraska bill, had gone to Kansas, and had seen the

light, in 1856 returned to Indiana to tell as an eye witness of the "crimes in Kansas".

After the governor of Indiana had refused to hear the appeal from Kansas for help, public meetings were held to provide assistance in the form of money and guns.²¹ The executive committee of the "Free Democracy" issued a call for a mass meeting of all friends of free territory to meet at Indianapolis, February 21, 1856, to prepare for the state convention of the People's party, which was set for May 1. These men voted to join the new party outright. Judge John W. Wright of Logansport moved a committee of seven to raise money and purchase arms and equipment for men to take to Kansas.²² Organizations were formed in each county to carry out this work.

Meanwhile the Americans, or Know Nothings, were on a hard road. They held their district conventions in January and February, but when in national convention in Philadelphia the slavery ques-

²¹ The only careful study of the origin of the Republican party in Indiana so far made is by Charles Zimmerman, to whom the writer acknowledges obligation. *Indiana Magazine of History*, XIII.

²² Such meetings were held at Indianapolis in January and February. *Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 10 and Feb. 21, 1856.

²³ This committee was Dr. James N. Ritchey, Ovid Butler, John W. Wright, A. C. Stevenson, Calvin Fletcher, Henry S. Lane, and James H. Lane, certainly an excellent committee. *Logansport Pharos*, March 19, 1856, *Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 11, 1856, *Indianapolis Journal*, Feb. 22, 1856. "If a contest with arms comes off in Kansas hundreds of Hoosiers will be there, and money can be furnished to any amount, and after it is over every aider and abettor to the ruffians, in Indiana, will be shipped South and delivered over to their masters. Persons wishing to emigrate to Kansas as actual settlers and desirous of procuring Sharpe's rifles can be supplied in a few days by addressing me at Logansport or at the Bates House in Indianapolis."

tion came up the party divided, the "South Americans" going into the Democratic party and the "North Americans" into the Republican party. Their lodges were rapidly abandoned, their editors counseled fusion and at a meeting of the American state council at Indianapolis, April 2, 1856, it was decided to unite with the Republican or People's party in the May 1 convention.* Little preliminary organization had been accomplished before the self-appointed representatives of the new party, 30,000 to 40,000 strong, assembled in Indianapolis. H. S. Lane was chairman of this voluntary convention. In his address he urged the three issues underlying the political revolution: (1) the non-extension of slavery; (2) prohibition of the liquor traffic; and (3) citizenship as a requisite for voting. Oliver P. Morton, who was nominated for governor, spoke similarly. Finally, after some wrangling, delegates were appointed to the National Republican convention. This might be considered the last act of the Know Nothings and the first of the Republicans in Indiana.⁴⁵

* *Indianapolis Journal*, April 2, 1856; *Brookville Indiana American*, April 11, 1856. "That as in 1854 we stand uncompromisingly opposed to the present corrupt national administration, and as a party we stand ready to co-operate with any party which aims to put an end to its misrule. And, further, we regard the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as an infraction of the plighted faith of the nation. The same should be restored, and if efforts to that end fail, Congress should refuse, under all circumstances, to admit any State into the Union, tolerating slavery, made free by that compromise. Therefore, we approve of the call for a People's convention to be held on the first day of May next, and earnestly call upon the American party throughout the State to send a full delegation to that convention.

WILLIAM BIERST, President."

* *Indianapolis Journal*, May 2, 1856.

The People of Indiana, consisting of all who are opposed to the policy of the present federal administration, assembled in

The Democratic state convention had already met, as usual, on January 8. There was a full attendance and harmony. The party had been humiliated by the fight between Governor Wright and Senator Bright in 1854 and now both discreetly remained away. John L. Robinson, who had been a candidate for governor, withdrew the night before the nominations were made, leaving no opposition to Ashbel P. Willard, of New Albany, for the governorship. After the ticket had been completed the platform was read by Judge James Hughes, praising all the leading Democrats of both factions. On the slavery question the convention was quite conservative, merely endorsing the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

The campaign which followed was one of the most dignified and earnest the people had engaged in up to that time. The burden was borne by Oliver P. Morton and Ashbel P. Willard, opposing candidates for governor. They were not unevenly matched. In

convention at the capital of the State, now submit to the people the following platform of principles:

Resolved, That we are uncompromisingly opposed to the extension of slavery, and that we utterly repudiate the platform of principles adopted by the self-styled Democratic convention of this State endorsing and approving the Kansas-Nebraska iniquity.

Resolved, That we will resist by all proper means the admission of any slave State into this Union formed out of the territories secured to freedom by the Missouri Compromise, or otherwise.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas as a free State.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the naturalization laws of Congress with the five years' probation, and that the right of suffrage should accompany and not precede naturalization.

Resolved, That we believe the General Assembly of the State has the power to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, and that we are in favor of a constitutional law which will effectually suppress the evils of intemperance.



the graces of oratory Willard was superior, but in solidity and plain speech Morton excelled. They spoke in joint debate in many parts of the state. Both the Republican and Democratic parties had internal difficulties to contend with. The Democrats were weak on the slavery issue and "free" Democrats continually withdrew from the party. The Republicans did not get on smoothly with the Americans, who had a national ticket of their own and remembered that in 1854 they had controlled the Fusion party.

The nomination of Fremont roused a great deal of enthusiasm for a brief time, but unfortunately it would not wear. By the close of the campaign the voters had no great amount of admiration for either Fremont or Buchanan. One reads in the newspapers of torchlight processions, of a barbecue at Lafayette where 8,000 were present, of county and township mass-meetings where there was plenty to eat and no lack of oratory. The Republicans organized glee clubs which sang Fremont songs in the fashion of 1840. The issue was slavery. The "crimes of Kansas" furnished the material for the oratory.*

* The following speaking itinerary of Morton will give one an idea of the work of a candidate. Lawrenceburg, July 19; Rising Sun, July 21; Vevay, July 22; Columbus, July 23; Vernon, July 24; Madison, July 25; Franklin, July 26; Delphi, July 31; Dayton, August 1; Rockville, August 2; Greencastle, August 4; Bedford, August 5; Salem, August 6; Bloomington, August 7; Corydon, August 13; Leavenworth, August 14; Rome, August 16; Rockport, August 18; Booneville, August 19; Mt. Vernon, August 21; Evansville, August 22; Princeton, August 23; Petersburg, August 25; Washington, August 26; Dover Hill, August 27; Paoli, August 28; Spencer (Owen county), August 29; Bloomfield, August 30; Sullivan, September 1; Bowling Green, September 2; Terre Haute, September 3; Seymour, September 5; Bainbridge, September 11; Muncie, September 12; Portland, September 13; Bluffton, September 15; Warren, September 16; Spencer, September 18; Bloomfield, September 19; Washington, September

20, Petersburg, September 22; Jasper, September 23, Mount Pleasant, September 24; Paoli, September 25, Attica, September 30; Tippecanoe Battle Ground, October 1, 2 and 3; Winamac, October 4; Rochester, October 6; Plymouth, October 7; Warsaw, October 8, Goshen, October 9; South Bend, October 10; Laporte, October 11, Indianapolis, October 13. These meetings were called at 1 P. M., and usually lasted till night.

The following is the official vote in the two elections, 1854 and 1856. In the first two columns are the votes for Secretary of State on the Fusion and Democratic tickets, respectively. In the last two columns are the votes for Morton and Willard:

County	Secretary of State, 1854		Governor, 1856	
	Fus.	Dem.	Morton	Willard
Adams	470	679	372	763
Bartholomew	1,417	1,522	1,410	1,655
Allen	1,457	2,044	1,711	3,029
Benton	169	107	313	223
Blackford	179	392	267	404
Boone	1,143	1,306	1,349	1,495
Brown	171	620	220	773
Carroll	1,220	1,065	1,270	1,311
Cass	1,361	1,315	1,503	1,550
Clarke	1,574	1,498	1,495	1,799
Clay	579	668	607	1,067
Clinton	1,064	921	1,279	1,282
Crawford	904	620	598	745
Davies	1,022	738	912	1,137
Dearborn . . .	2,028	2,236	1,967	2,636
Decatur	1,884	1,322	1,800	1,667
DeKalb	658	535	1,111	1,191
Delaware	1,154	691	1,587	995
Dubois	270	876	226	1,234
Elkhart . . .	1,009	940	1,809	1,494
Fayette	1,067	862	1,211	1,001
Floyd	1,705	1,485	1,481	1,833
Fountain	1,572	1,211	1,669	1,623
Franklin	1,683	1,803	1,479	2,241
Fulton	623	636	796	849
Gibson	961	868	1,047	1,218
Grant	1,112	800	1,404	1,050
Greene . . .	550	786	1,051	1,232
Hamilton ...	1,328	703	1,710	1,143
Hancock	861	1,195	1,074	1,325

CAMPAIGN OF 1856

649

County	Secretary of State, 1854		Governor, 1856	
	Fun.	Dem.	Morton	Willard
Harrison	1,298	1,304	1,432	1,042
Hendricks	1,514	1,168	1,606	1,410
Henry	2,100	883	2,486	1,188
Howard	762	887	1,019	893
Huntington	837	807	1,199	1,211
Jackson	853	1,364	894	1,563
Jasper	400	433	652	538
Jay	719	557	884	867
Jefferson	2,861	1,415	2,476	1,994
Jennings	1,455	755	1,391	1,128
Johnson	1,136	1,371	1,204	1,660
Knox	1,209	963	1,109	1,544
Kosciusko	1,026	744	1,506	1,029
Lagrange	1,142	863	1,302	633
Lake	547	334	893	292
Laporte	1,717	1,421	2,332	2,222
Lawrence	943	743	1,061	1,079
Madison	1,165	1,315	1,321	1,578
Marion	3,227	2,655	3,737	3,042
Marshall	629	634	882	1,044
Martin	429	497	466	777
Miami	1,218	1,017	1,435	1,532
Monroe	611	1,085	801	1,138
Montgomery	1,350	1,755	2,037	2,109
Morgan	1,424	1,109	1,652	1,644
Noble	629	535	1,257	1,249
Ohio	506	349	405	505
Orange	662	1,013	614	1,116
Owen	728	814	1,066	1,223
Parke	1,000	1,008	1,682	1,331
Perry	773	770	742	1,047
Pike	645	619	608	602
Porter	732	618	967	704
Posey	953	1,305	833	1,750
Pulaski	308	406	356	557
Putnam	1,887	1,506	1,766	1,987
Randolph	1,531	845	1,901	1,233
Ripley	1,633	1,213	1,579	1,721
Swain	1,479	1,434	1,327	1,707
Scott	600	723	567	710
Shelby	1,576	1,771	1,804	2,058

The result of the state election was favorable to the Democrats. The General Assembly showed a Democratic majority on joint ballot, though the senate was Republican. Willard and the entire Democratic ticket were elected by majorities ranging from 5,000 to 8,000. Buchanan received 118,672, Fremont 94,376 and Fillmore, candidate of the Know Nothings, 21,784. The congressional delegation resulting was six Democrats and five Republicans.

§ 118 ELECTION OF 1860

The campaign of 1856 left politics in Indiana more confused than before. The General Assembly was controlled by neither party and yet would be required to elect two United States senators. No suc-

County	Secretary of State, 1854		Governor, 1856	
	Rep.	Dem.	Morton	Willard
Spencer	945	954	1,068	1,205
Starke	61	129	132	177
Steuben	628	276	1,133	546
St. Joseph	1,449	902	1,789	1,490
Sullivan	698	1,205	636	1,618
Switzerland	1,267	840	1,127	1,133
Tippecanoe	2,431	1,806	2,630	2,335
Tipton	457	351	558	687
Union	757	673	773	741
Vanderburgh	1,229	1,362	1,167	1,747
Vermilion	856	785	948	837
Vigo	1,833	909	1,811	1,901
Wabash	1,545	766	1,725	1,168
Warran	977	897	1,136	790
Washington	1,156	1,514	1,021	1,643
Wayne	3,120	1,453	3,871	1,994
Wells	592	673	733	890
White	545	531	744	762
Whitley	698	605	783	853
			112,139	117,961

These statistics are taken from the *Documentary Journals*, 1856, p. 891, and 1867, ch. II, 607.

cessor had been elected to John Pettit in 1855 and consequently the place had remained vacant. Governor Wright was a candidate, but the opposing faction, January 31, in caucus, nominated Bright and Dr. Graham Fitch of Logansport. The Republicans and Americans who controlled the senate, remembering the Democratic precedent of 1844 and 1855, refused to go into joint session. However, on February 5, the Democrats of the two bodies met jointly and elected Bright and Fitch, who in due time were given their seats in the United States senate. Both were pro-slavery men. Leading Democrats made no effort to defend the legality of the election. The Republicans in general contented themselves with urging on the quarrel between Bright and Wright over the senatorship, the fight between Wright and the free banks, and the continual inter-party bickerings in the legislature. Any sore Democrat could find opportunity for expression in Republican newspapers.

The two houses, at loggerheads politically, discussed petty politics, threatened to unseat members—the senate Democrats and the house Republicans—and spent the session without so much as passing revenue and appropriation bills.

This legislature was no credit to either party and a disgrace to the state. As soon as the session was over each member hastened to prove in the press that he was not to blame for the failure of legislation. The Democrats began at once to find excuses for an extra session but none was called. As a result it became necessary to close the state asylums in April and send the insane and blind to their homes. However, after their political ardor cooled off, the various trustees opened the institutions, October 1, having kept them closed six months.²⁰

²⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 24, 1857. See, also, various official reports in the *Documentary Journal of 1858*.

January 7, 1857, the Republicans met in state convention, O. P. Morton presiding. After a season of oratory and the usual resolutions endorsing the previous career of the party, an organization for future work was formed.²⁰

The interest of both parties was soon centered in Washington where the Kansas struggle was occupying congress. Anti-slavery Democrats saw with regret their party gradually forfeiting the support of the people as the vote on the Lecompton constitution was announced, for which eight Indiana congressmen voted; so that Douglas and his followers, of whom were a majority of Indiana Democrats, felt they could no longer ask the voters to support them on the claim of popular sovereignty. The Dred Scott decision was already bearing fruit. Dr. W. A. Bowles, proprietor of an estate in Orange county, had brought in seven slaves, claiming in the local court the right to hold them under the new decision.²¹ These events left no place in the Democratic ranks for such men as George W. Julian, Judge E. M. Chamberlain, and the conscientious Free Soil Democrats.

Politically the year 1858 opened with interest focused on Kansas. Never had a national question so completely overshadowed state politics; not because there were no state issues, but because of the great interest in the slavery struggle. It is usually difficult to arouse political excitement and passion in Indiana and in this case it was one of the last states to be swept by the Abolition movement. Partly due to agitation, partly due to letters from friends and relatives in Kansas, and partly due to the Fugitive

²⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 8, 1857.

²¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 19, 1857. For an account of this interesting case, see appellant's brief in Supreme Court, May term, 1858. Bowles was defeated by Collins and Lafolette, of New Albany.

Slave law, everybody was passionately interested in the statehood of Kansas.⁴¹

All the leading Democratic newspapers of the state, except the *Sentinel*, thirty in number, condemned the Lecompton bill.⁴² These became the Douglas papers and show how largely he controlled the party in Indiana. Senator Bright, a personal enemy of Douglas, leading the pro-slavery Democrats, declared he was in favor of congress settling the question of slavery in Kansas and not going so far as even to submit the Kansas constitution to a vote of its people.⁴³ William H. English, of the Second Indiana district, proposed to give the Kansans five per cent. of the proceeds of 2,000,000 acres of land if they would accept the Lecompton constitution, but they refused by a decisive vote.⁴⁴

The Democratic convention which met at Indianapolis January 7, 1858, was a struggle for the mastery of the party. Senator Bright and Congressman James Hughes came from Washington to see that the administration was upheld. Daniel W. Voorhees wrote the platform, artfully dodging all doubtful issues, but Lew Wallace offered a plank from the floor, endorsing the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which precipitated an angry struggle.

The anti-slavery Democrats, not satisfied with the results above, called a mass meeting for Indianapo-

⁴¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 7, 1858. "The year 1858 will see the great battle of freedom on the floor of congress, and on the plains of Kansas, when it will be decided whether a ruthless minority of Southern slave-holders shall force a diabolical constitution on the free people of Kansas, without even submitting it for their consideration. It will see a great division in the Democratic party north on the question of the admission of Kansas with the above constitution."

⁴² *Logansport Phoebe*, April 28, 1858.

⁴³ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 31, 1858.

⁴⁴ *Madison Courier*, May 5, 1858.

lis, February 22, 1858, which, when met, endorsed Douglass and read the *Indianapolis Sentinel* out of the party."

A Republican mass convention of "all those persons opposed to the Lecompton bill" was held March 4, 1858. The platform dealt almost exclusively with slavery, leaving the impression that the party intended to live off the mistakes of the Democrats.

No great interest developed during the campaign. There was little internal harmony in either party, though while the Republican factions were getting better disciplined and more friendly, the opposite tendency held among the Democrats. The Democratic state ticket was elected by about 2,500 majority, but the congressmen did not fare so well. Some of them had lost their way in the pro-slavery atmosphere of Washington, rendering themselves unpopular at home.* As a consequence the Republicans elected eight and the Democrats three, a loss of three

* *Indianapolis Journal*, Feb. 25, 1858. "Resolved, That the *Indiana State Sentinel*, by its pervarications, misrepresentations, and inconsistencies, as well as by its betrayal of Democratic faith, and its injustice to members of the party, has placed itself outside of the Democratic organization of the State, and forfeited the patronage and respect of the party." The last section of the platform recommended the calling of a convention of the Democrats of the Northwest—a movement that would have been equivalent to the founding of the Republican party. "Resolved, That we recommend to the National Democracy of the Northwest the holding at an early day of a mass convention at Chicago or some other suitable place, and that a committee of correspondence of five be appointed, to communicate with the democracy of other States relative to the calling of such a convention."

** James Hughes, representative from the Third, was so proud of the Lecompton bill that he declared "if every stump in Kansas were a negro, every tree upon her soil a slave driver, and every twig upon the tree a lash to scourge a negro to his daily toil, I would vote for the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution."

by the latter. The General Assembly became Republican by a small majority in each house."

During the years between 1856 and 1860 political leaders were trying to get their respective parties ready for the battle of 1860 which all seemed to recognize would test the continued supremacy of the Democratic party, which had then controlled the state since 1843. Democratic leaders were apprehensive. They had seen their old time majorities of 20,000 dwindle down to a mere technicality, the suspensive veto of the governor. Wright, Bright, English, Davis, Lane and Pettit had seen the former Democratic conventions, harmonious and jubilant in victory and the praise of their captains, gradually change into discordant groups of bickering, jealous, half hearted slackers. The machine built up with such care and cost by Jacob Page Chapman, James Whitecomb, Joseph Wright, Edward Hannegan, Tilghman Howard, and Dr. Ellis was going headlong into the ditch with the imperious slave-master from Madison at the wheel. On the other hand, the young Republican colt, a cross with Whig, American, anti-slavery and temperance strains, was cavorting dan-

47 Editor Norman, of the *New Albany Leader* is an excellent editorial, Nov. 23, 1859, thus summed up the results. "Since the rise of the Republican party the northern Democracy have lost, one after another, nearly all their ancient strongholds. In the contest of 1856 only two northern States, Pennsylvania and Indiana, gave Buchanan clear majorities. Pennsylvania has since gone over, leaving Indiana alone. It is the position of Indiana as the most reliable northern Democratic State and not any particular merit of her prominent politicians that attracts more than ordinary interest to the movements of the Democratic leaders within her limits. The same causes that have spread disaster into other States have not been unfelt here. The same division of sentiment which followed the inauguration of the Lecompton policy of the administration in other States also took place in Indiana. It was found impossible to repress these dissensions or prevent divisions."

gerously, responsive to neither bat nor spur. Bucephalus needed a rider.

An overwhelming majority of the Democrats of Indiana were followers of Douglas, county after county, in the closing days of 1859, at their mass conventions declaring for him.⁴⁴ The Whigs were losing their American allies in the Republican party for opposite reasons. Persuading themselves that they held the balance of power, the Americans early in 1860 laid down the conditions on which they would co-operate with the Republicans.⁴⁵ The Republicans complied so far with these demands as to summon a "Mass State Convention" for February 22, 1860. The name Republican was not used in the call, but the ticket was officially designated Republican.

The Americans deplored the Abolition tendencies of the radical Republicans. The latter recommended Helper's *Impending Crisis* to their friends while Henry S. Lane, speaking from the American standpoint, called it incendiary.⁴⁶ The Democrats used this recommendation of Helper pretty effectively for awhile; but the final result was favorable to the Republicans. It was attempted to show, after the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry, that this hare-brained conduct was the result of reading such literature. The final sympathy, partly due to the fact that Captain Cook, the companion of Brown, was a

⁴⁴ Charles Zimmerman, "Origin and Rise of the Republican Party in Indiana," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XIII, 211, 349.

⁴⁵ New Albany Tribune, Jan. 12, 1860. (1) "That an 'Opposition' convention be called in which Republicans, Americans and Whigs shall participate, fully, freely, and fairly; (2) that no man entertaining ultra views upon the slavery question shall be nominated for any office, (3) that the platform adopted shall be national, and not sectional, conservative, and not radical; (4) that the delegates to the national convention shall be instructed to vote for Bates, Bell or Corwin for President."

⁴⁶ Indianapolis Sentinel, Jan. 31 and Feb. 25, 1860.

brother-in-law of Governor Willard, was with Brown as a martyr. It at least would have been good politics to put Brown in a mad house.

On January 11, the Democrats held the first state convention of 1860. Thinking, perhaps, they might thereby more easily control it, the state executive committee had decided on a delegate instead of a mass convention. However, Robert Lowry, a Douglas man, was elected chairman over Judge Samuel Perkins, a Bright man, by a vote of 189½ to 174½. Later Douglas delegates were seated from seven contested counties. The real struggle came on a resolution to instruct the Indiana delegation to the national convention for Douglas, the vote favoring Douglas 265 to 129. For governor the convention nominated Thomas A. Hendricks, and for his running mate David Turpie.²² It is doubtful if two better candidates could have been found. It could be said of each that he prized his party more highly than any individual person. It was understood among the leaders that if the Democrats were successful Hendricks should go to the United States senate and Turpie become governor. The platform resolutions endorsed the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the Dred Scott decision and favored the acquisition of Cuba. How any voter could support both the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the Dred Scott decision was not explained.

With the Republicans the one question was, what would be the attitude on slavery? They were agreed that slavery should not be extended; but not as to whether congress of its own power should exclude slavery from the territories or whether it should be left to the voters of a territory to exclude it when the territory became a state. At first thought the difference between the plans seemed negligible, but a

²² *Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 12, 13, 1860.

second thought disclosed grave possibilities. If they depended on congress alone then a Democratic majority might lead to disaster, as had happened in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. If they trusted to popular sovereignty then the territory might be full of slaveholders when it applied for admission and, if it should declare for freedom, it would only be after a bloody struggle such as was then devastating Kansas. It was finally decided to retain both methods so that if the supreme court declared a congressional act abolishing slavery in the territories unconstitutional a fighting chance would still remain.¹¹ The Americans preferred not to mention the slavery question at all, while the extreme anti-slavery wing would have condemned the whole institution. These were the serious questions that confronted State Chairman M. C. Garber and the executive committee, when they formulated the call for a convention. Some, and among them the state chairman, preferred a strong, straight-forward platform, made without regard to any faction, but it was pointed out that if the party was to live it must be successful, so prudence prevailed.¹²

¹¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 2, 1860, *New York Times*, March 12, 1860.

¹² Following is the call sent out by State Chairman Garber: "The people of Indiana who are opposed to the policy of the present administration of the general government, to federal corruption and usurpation, to the extension of slavery into the territories, to the new and dangerous political doctrine that the constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into all the territories of the United States, to the reopening of the African slave trade; and who are in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union under the constitution recently adopted by its people, of restoring the federal administration to a system of rigid economy and to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, of maintaining inviolate the rights of the States, and of defending the soil of every State from lawless invasion, and of preserving the integrity of the Union and the supremacy of the

There seems to have been no factional strife in the convention. Morton had many admirers, who would gladly have backed him for the governorship, but all agreed that Henry S. Lane was the most available candidate.

Lane was a rare specimen of the old type of Indiana citizenship. There is no evidence of his ever having had a personal enemy. He had been a soldier in the Mexican war and in 1860 was without a rival on the political hustings. Moreover it was mutually agreed, though not made public, that Morton should be his running mate and if successful, Lane should become United States senator and Morton should succeed to the governorship. The preliminaries being thus arranged, the two men were nominated without opposition. After selecting candidates for the remaining offices the immense crowd, in session finally on the statehouse lawn, because no hall in the capital would hold half the delegates, returned home,

constitution and laws passed in pursuance thereof against the conspiracy of the leaders of the national party to resist the majority principle as established in the national government, even at the expense of its existence, who are opposed to the present prodigal and reckless administration of the State government of Indiana and its disregard of the laws in its management of the pecuniary affairs of the State, and who are in favor of restoring the State government to a system of strict economy and subordination to the laws of the State, who are in favor of the passage of laws against the embezzlement of the people's money by the State officers, and who are in favor of an honest administration of State affairs, are requested to meet in their respective counties on any day to be agreed upon by them and elect delegates to attend the mass State convention, to be held at Indianapolis, on the 22nd of February, 1860, to appoint candidates for State offices and to appoint delegates to attend the national convention, to be held at Chicago on the 13th of June next, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. M. C. GAMMA, Chairman." *Chas. Zimmerman, Indiana Magazine of History*, XIII, 378.

satisfied with their work and eager for the contest.

Two stronger tickets never opposed each other in an Indiana campaign. Lane, Turpie, Hendricks, Morton and Harrison, all candidates at this time, followed each other to the United States senate where they served a total of forty years. Harrison opposed Michael C. Kerr for reporter of the supreme court. The former became president and the latter speaker. Among the congressmen were Albert G. Porter, a future governor, Daniel W. Voorhees, who later spent eighteen years in the United States senate after having spent eight in the house, and Schuyler Colfax, who was later a speaker and vice-president. These candidates not only earned an honest national reputation for themselves but brought fame to their state. Finally there were Lincoln and Douglas on the national tickets.

As soon as the state conventions were over the voters turned to the national conventions. There were misgivings among the Democrats as the Charleston convention dragged along from April 23 to May 3 without a choice. The situation became alarming when the party divided at Baltimore, where the northern wing nominated Douglas and the southern nominated Breckenridge. It was hoped by Indiana Democrats up to this time that a schism in the party might be avoided. This would at least give them a fair chance in Indiana. A mass meeting was held at Indianapolis, July 18, to ratify the nomination of Douglas and Johnson.⁴⁴ The Breckenridge supporters, however, did not attend. They were busily organizing and on July 31, held their ratification in Indianapolis. They seem to have made a sincere effort to reach an agreement with the Douglas

⁴⁴ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 19, 1860.

supporters, but the latter had no faith in the sincerity of the former.

Indiana sent an enthusiastic delegation to the Republican national convention at Chicago, May 16, which seemed unanimous in support of Lincoln. The same influence which caused Lane to be nominated for governor over Morton caused Lincoln to be preferred by them over Seward. Lincoln and Lane were very much alike, typical of the best citizenship of pioneer Indiana. The Indianaans took credit for the nomination of the former Hoosier and on August 29, at Indianapolis, turned out by thousands to ratify the nomination. There was a touch of the forties in their jubilant actions. "Wide Awakes," "Rail Maulers," "Abe's Boys" and others came marching with fife and drum, strange premonition of the approaching tragedy.

One more organization yet remains to be noted to complete the tale of conventions in this remarkable campaign. The Constitutional Unionists, those who wished to ignore the slavery question, as both parties had done in 1852, met at Indianapolis, August 15. There seem to have been about 150 delegates present, representing the southern part of the state more fully than the northern. It is substantially true to say that this party was made up of Americans.¹⁰ An electoral ticket favorable to John Bell and Edward Everett was nominated, after a brief statement of the political position of the party had been made.¹¹ The Douglas Democrats made strenuous efforts to secure an alliance with this party, but it seems that most of them followed the lead of B. W. Thompson, their most distinguished member, and supported the Republican local tickets.

¹⁰ Carl Brand, "History of Know Nothings in Indiana," *Mem.*, 1881.

¹¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Aug. 16, 1860.

There were thus four national tickets in the field in Indiana, each supported by an able body of men. The contest, however, was soon seen to be between the Douglas Democrats and the Republicans, the only parties which had state and county tickets. The labor of the campaign fell on Lane and Hendricks and Morton and Turpie who in pairs toured the state discussing the issues in joint debate. These four men stood in the dawn of a new day. Through the political degradation of that day they had come unsoiled. The political spoilsmen had been sent to the rear and Indiana had a right to look to the future more hopefully than ever before. There was little bitterness and almost no personality in the campaign. After the state election in October the Democrats tried to influence the timid voter by representing that secession would follow a Republican victory. Whether they, themselves, were sincere or not it had no appreciable effect on the voters. The threat itself was dishonest and unsportsmanlike.⁸⁷

The results of the election were not surprising to any one. Lincoln received 139,033 votes; Douglas, 115,509; Breckenridge, 12,294; Bell, 5,306; Lane, 136,725; Morton, 136,470; Hendricks, 126,768; Turpie, 126,292.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Charles Kettleborough, "Indiana on the Eve of the Civil War," 186, seq., has worked out this subject fully.

⁸⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, Dec. 4 and Dec. 14, 1860. The total votes for the state officers are taken from *House Journal*, 1861, p. 60.

ELECTION RETURNS OF 1860 BY COUNTIES

	Hendricks.....	Lane.....	Lincoln.....	Douglas.....	Breckenridge	Bell.....
Adams . . .	842	549	632	987	22	11
Allen . . .	2,945	2,487	2,552	3,234	42	38

Usually after an election in the United States there is a feeling of relief, during which the partisans

	Hendricks.	Lane.	Lincoln	Douglas.	Breckenridge.	Ball.
Bartholomew ...	1,968	1,736	1,760	1,846	86	34
Benton	248	5,105	375	235	6	8
Boone	1,560	1,700	1,800	941	649	47
Blackford	472	273	275	408	40	9
Brown	744	298	301	729	31	6
Carroll	1,492	1,558	1,500	1,446	5	14
Cass	1,857	1,862	1,874	1,727	130	34
Clark	1,800	1,578	1,369	1,887	250	316
Clay	1,358	862	890	1,316	47	51
Clinton	1,437	1,395	1,454	1,487	61	6
Crawford	909	841	778	844	8	42
Davless	1,501	1,019	984	749	529	138
Dearborn	2,548	2,077	2,127	2,436	61	96
Decatur	1,872	2,003	2,028	1,948	93	20
DeKalb	1,372	1,517	1,600	1,339	2	24
Delaware	1,051	1,755	1,883	1,028	98	10
Dubois	1,437	274	301	1,347	2	20
Elkhart	2,010	2,404	2,471	1,938	27	1
Fayette	1,010	1,303	1,343	917	39	9
Floyd	1,876	1,876	1,151	1,888	96	320
Fountain	1,807	1,656	1,656	1,390	369	6
Fulton	1,073	1,030	1,019	991	22	6
Franklin	2,299	1,679	1,695	2,272	49	9
Gibson	1,580	1,273	1,298	1,545	29	112
Grant	1,213	1,568	1,668	1,223	33	49
Greene	1,518	1,872	1,420	1,316	204	20
Hamilton	1,151	2,091	2,195	1,144	98	4
Harrison	1,876	1,691	1,593	1,848	36	17
Hancock	1,399	1,148	1,201	1,299	97	13
Hendricks ...	1,370	2,022	2,050	1,088	244	41
Henry	1,328	2,797	2,926	1,208	90	16
Howard	697	1,518	1,589	875	35	15
Huntington	1,368	1,508	1,582	1,402	52	14
Jackson	1,725	1,063	1,185	1,740	117	86
Jasper	278	525	534	278	7	17

shake hands, congratulate the victors and resume ordinary work. This no doubt would have been the

	Handicks...	Lane.....	Lincoln... ..	Douglas.....	Breckinridge.	Bell... ..
Jay	1,089	1,107	1,185	1,077	13	6
Jefferson	1,800	2,034	2,061	1,146	564	150
Jennings	915	1,630	1,649	830	326	42
Johnson	1,706	1,203	1,303	1,392	396	60
Knex	1,742	1,580	1,570	1,666	42	39
Kearlasko	1,457	2,192	2,200	1,500	9	3
Lagrange	750	1,621	1,085	749	10	16
Lake	540	1,068	1,225	455	30	..
Laporte	2,013	3,000	3,167	1,508	474	27
Lawrence	1,143	1,272	1,156	787	525	208
Madison	1,847	1,669	1,709	1,341	70	38
Marion	3,821	4,804	5,024	3,253	319	101
Marshall	1,343	1,372	1,426	1,473	24	3
Martin	789	528	516	679	153	56
Miami	1,673	1,853	1,835	1,608	28	..
Monroe	1,168	1,193	1,198	716	395	64
Montgomery ..	2,273	2,399	2,367	2,179	89	78
Morgan	1,621	1,721	1,755	1,516	62	14
Newton	243	277	305	189	44	1
Noble	1,377	1,573	1,742	1,320	39	4
Ohio	508	484	301	335	203	174
Orange	1,149	856	849	1,114	176	85
Owen	1,484	1,163	1,140	1,203	86	113
Parke	1,365	1,881	1,896	1,321	55	84
Perry	1,042	1,066	1,026	947	6	160
Pike	910	863	894	882	56	29
Porter	949	1,434	1,529	899	23	6
Posey	1,511	993	1,055	1,128	523	168
Polaski	661	550	571	663	4	7
Putnam	1,904	1,963	1,883	1,747	361	123
Randolph	1,200	2,096	2,298	1,199	56	10
Ripley	1,610	1,960	1,983	1,458	174	37
Rush	1,638	1,742	1,757	1,119	476	35
Scott	609	662	690	447	262	62
Shelby	2,137	1,895	1,900	2,047	43	35

case in Indiana in 1860 but for the ominous condition in the South.

§ 119 PARTISANSHIP AND PATRIOTISM

The Republicans were naturally elated over the sweeping success of their party. The assurance of the party, however, was hardly warranted by the size of the majority, that of Lincoln being only 5,996; he had run ahead of Lane 2,308.

On the 22d of November a mass meeting was held in Indianapolis in celebration of the victory. There the leaders laid their plans for the new administration. By this time everyone knew that Morton was

	Headrick	Lane	Lincoln	Douglas	Brackett	Bell
Spencer	1,367	1,265	1,295	1,105	172	175
Stark	205	187	190	231	14	2
St. Joseph	1,534	2,253	2,363	1,489	23	5
Steuben	606	1,390	1,560	547	82	8
Sullivan	1,875	847	856	1,858	128	55
Switzerland	1,019	1,061	734	478	499	519
Tippecanoe	2,373	3,322	2,490	2,276	117	84
Tipton	785	697	780	822	21	3
Union	711	844	849	652	36	3
Vanderburgh	1,919	1,893	1,675	1,544	183	302
Vertonia	849	1,090	1,090	844	17	24
Vigo	2,341	2,437	2,429	2,127	44	211
Wabash	1,141	2,090	2,287	1,142	79	20
Warren	747	1,349	1,412	760	33	15
Warrick	1,353	639	745	784	616	85
Washington	1,944	1,354	1,378	1,968	48	31
Wayne	2,027	4,069	4,234	1,784	161	102
Wells	1,023	847	909	1,090	6	3
White	860	980	993	811	67	9
Whitley	1,091	1,093	1,123	1,087	33	4
Totals	120,908	130,725	130,053	115,509	12,294	5,308

to be governor and on him was placed the mantle of leadership, which he wore unchallenged until his death, seventeen years later.

The first Republican General Assembly met, January 10, 1861. The Republicans controlled the house by a majority of 62 to 38 and the senate by 28 to 22. After the usual formalities of organization were over, the Assembly, on January 16, elected Governor Lane to the United States senate and Morton at once assumed the duties of governor. The situation which confronted the Assembly was full of trouble. Party discipline was lax and official honesty was worse. There was no law against embezzlement and the system of bookkeeping at the statehouse was such that it is impossible to be sure where mistakes were due to ignorance or dishonesty. The state debt was about \$10,000,000, for which it had been necessary to borrow \$125,000, the past year, to pay interest. The various funds were overdrawn heavily, while downright stealing was going on in connection with the building of the northern penitentiary and the sale of the swamp lands.* From the various special funds such as the Common School, Sinking, and Swamp Land, the state had borrowed \$989,188 for running expenses. The Assembly put in most of its time discussing resolutions concerning federal affairs. Over 500 such resolutions were introduced in the two houses, many of which produced acrimonious debate. So much of the time of the Assembly was thus occu-

* For a mild expression on this subject, see majority and minority reports. Wray and Meena, *House Journal*, 1861, 1044, seq. The General Assembly of 1859 by Joint Resolution XXIV appointed Judges John T. Elliott, William T. Otto and Norman Eddy to ascertain and report amounts due the State from former officers. A study of their report, p. 225, *Documentary Journal*, 1861, Pt. I, will give one an idea of the criminality common among the officeholders of the time.

pied that a special session was necessary. This met, April 24, 1861, and in a few days passed the general and specific appropriation bills, bills defining embezzlement and limiting official fees and salaries, negotiated a loan of \$2,000,000 and, most important of all, reorganized the militia.⁴⁰ Before the short session was ended the Civil war had begun, the last act printed in the volume of laws being one to organize six regiments of volunteers.

§ 120 COERCION OR SECESSION

By the beginning of 1861 the Republicans had become more thoughtful. They were counseled by their leaders to avoid all partisan conversation. Factories were closing, the stock markets were deserted and prices had declined fifty per cent.⁴¹ In the various counties the people were assembling in what they termed Union meetings, resolving to stand by the Chicago platform, by Lincoln, by the Republican party, or in some few cases by the Crittenden resolution.⁴² The Republicans as a rule were defiant toward the South. The Democratic meetings usually urged some form of mediation or conciliation. From Virginia came an invitation to join in a convention of the states looking toward conciliation. The Assembly by joint resolution instructed the governor to appoint a commission of five men to attend this convention.⁴³

⁴⁰ *Laws of Indiana, Extra Session, 1861*, chs. I, V, XXV, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXV, and XXXVI.

⁴¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 1, 1861.

⁴² *Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 5, 1861. "We hold the secession of any State from the federal union to be treason against it and the penalties prescribed by law should be inflicted." Resolution of Morgan county.

⁴³ *House Journal*, 277; *Senate Journal*, 221. As an example of the fervid rhetoric which occupied the time of the General Assembly and the numerous meetings, the following from Horace

On February 13, Robert Dale Owen delivered to the Assembly a maundering tirade on "the reign of the demagogue," pleading for peace, concession and conciliation.⁶⁴ This speech was planned to influence the new President. Mr. Lincoln visited Indianapolis, February 11, speaking briefly from the balcony of the Bates House. Governor Morton sought to get a public statement of policy from him, but to no purpose. It is surprising how little they knew then of Lincoln's power.⁶⁵

Hefren will suffice. *House Journal*, 1861, p. 269. "Anti-slavery lecturers, orators and stump speakers have, it seems to us, done all in their power to aid and assist in the great drama, and even professed ministers of God, men who hypocritically pretend to be ambassadors of the Most High, have descended from their lofty position and prostituted their talents and the pulpit, soiled the robes of religion, disgraced decency and outraged morality, by their infamous and hellish harangues, to aid in the unholy and unchristian cause of bringing about contention and strife. Their whole theme has been of the wrongs of another race, upon whose very forms the God of creation has stamped the impress of inferiority to that of the white, and by their lectures, speeches and sermons, have pertinaciously continued the crusade until we now stand, as it were, upon the smoldering volcano, with its hot, boiling lava rolling and thundering beneath our feet, and wanting but a breath to overwhelm all in a common ruin. Such is the terrible condition of our country today and to this has she been brought by the demagogues and fanatics, until a portion of the people of the Union seek to preserve their rights by secession." This commission consisted of Caleb B. Smith, of Indianapolis, P. A. Harkiman, of Rush county; G. B. Orth, of Tippecanoe, T. C. Slaughter, of Sullivan; E. W. H. Ellis, of Elkhart.

⁶⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, Feb. 14, 1861. "For myself, while the sword remains undrawn, while kindred blood remains unshed, never shall I despair of the republic. While there is peace there is hope, for peace is the life of the Union."

⁶⁵ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Feb. 12, 1861. "Mr. Lincoln is a theorist, a dreamer and, perhaps, an enthusiast in his convictions. He is not a practical man, and for that reason will be deficient in those qualities necessary to administer the government wisely. He lacks will, purpose—that resolute determination necessary to

A union state convention, composed of the leading politicians of the state opposed to the Republicans, met at Indianapolis, February 22, to deliberate on the state of the Union. It demanded of the state support of the Crittenden compromise and resolved that rather than use force a peaceful separation should be arranged. The resolutions were drawn up by Robert Dale Owen.⁴⁴

On the same day there met at Indianapolis what was called the Soldiers' convention. There were present 59 veterans of the War of 1812, among them James Blake, who presided, and 90 soldiers of the Mexican war. Their resolutions were defiant toward the South and secession.

While this coercion discussion was going on the new President was inaugurated and on April 14, Fort Sumter, a United States post, was fired upon. These events at once monopolized the attention of all the people. In the meantime Indiana had made up its mind on the most important question of the war.

The question of the power of the constitution to compel obedience on the part of the states was as old as the government. Time and again it had come up. It had been seized upon as a defense by first one section of the nation and then another. Now the slavery aristocracy of the South was taking refuge behind it in the defense of their asserted rights. Whatever of justification the South can ever have for its rash conduct must be along this line, for the flimsy excuse of

success. For those reasons Mr. Lincoln will be an uncertain man; and today, with a full knowledge of his views upon the present condition of our public affairs, it will be impossible to predict what his action will be. At a time when it requires a man of nerve, will and purpose to administer the government successfully, it is most unfortunate that the administration of our public affairs should be confided to such hands."

⁴⁴ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Feb. 22, 1861.

the election of Lincoln will never be regarded as other than a pretext.

The literature of the time is filled with denunciation of the Republicans, in league and in sympathy with the Abolitionists, for their aggressions on the South. The party was charged with the responsibility for all the disunion sentiment and the animosity between the sections. The truth seems to be that it contained about as many positive characters like Seward and Lincoln as the southern wing of the Democracy, did like Toombs and Davis. The Douglas Democrats in Indiana throughout the campaign of 1860 declared that the Republicans were a menace to the Union, and that safety lay in the election of Douglas. Not only the state convention, but that of county after county reiterated the assertion."

Since the Democrats in these instances did not make known what they would do in case secession was attempted they apparently were using such declarations merely for political effect and as such it was accepted by their opponents. The Republican county conventions answered these lugubrious declarations with equally inflated assertions of their own loyalty to the Union which their fathers' blood

vt Indiana Sentinel, July 12, 1860. "Resolved, That in view of the unjustifiable surrender of a portion of the southern delegates from the Charleston and Baltimore conventions, we are admonished more than ever of the evils that threaten our beloved country by the formation of sectional parties, that the foot-prints of the northern sectional party, known as the Republican, since its inception have been marked only by hypocritical professions, infractions of the constitution, and as a natural result of these, sectional animosity, which, if not speedily arrested, will lead to all the deplorable evils that would follow a dismemberment of the confederacy, and therefore it is the duty of all men to heed the warning voice of Washington and Trow upon all sectional parties and organizations, whether North or South, and under whatever name they may be known." Corydon Democrat.

had consecrated."⁶⁶ How sincere the party as a whole was, it is impossible now to determine satisfactorily. The Republicans were solemnly charged with being Abolitionists, bent on getting control of the national government for the purpose of making an assault on the property system of the South. The public speeches of Lincoln, Seward, Sumner, H. S. Lane and Morton were cited in evidence. "The fatal and inevitable result of its mission is to beget social disorder, financial panic, commercial revolution, servile insurrection, bloodshed, incendiarism, civil war, and a final dissolution of the Union," said the Indianapolis *Sentinel* of the Republican party. This in Indiana was mere political rant, in which both parties habitually indulged but how it impressed its readers in the distant South can not be so easily told. S. E. Perkins, then on the supreme court bench, in a speech at Richmond, declared the result of a Republican success would be "a dissolution of the Union, for, though the Republicans would have violated the constitution, broken the compact, and thus absolved the South from all obligations to adhere to it, yet the Republicans would attempt by the superior physical force of the North to crush her into submission."⁶⁷ These dismal prophecies were answered with sarcasm by the Republicans. On the other hand, Morton at Terre Haute, March 10, 1860, said: "The treasonable doctrine of rule or ruin has been boldly

⁶⁶ Indianapolis Journal, Feb. 17, 1860. The following resolutions from a Huntington county convention, Feb. 11, 1860: "Resolved, That we condemn the foolish, treasonable, disunion sentiments proclaimed by the leaders of the self-styled Democratic party in congress, whose acts have been endorsed by the leaders of the Indiana Democracy and that we believe all such sentiments, come from what source they may, deserve the execration of all true patriots."

⁶⁷ Indianapolis Sentinel, Sept. 26, 1860.

avowed by leading Democrats in the senate of the United States; they have declared without rebuke from their fellows that the last hope of the Republic was bound up in the success of the Democratic party, and that the success of the Republican party would present a contingency not only authorizing but demanding the secession of the southern states from the Confederacy.⁷⁰ Occasionally there was a spark of fire in all this smoke. In answer to these reiterated threats, John D. Defrees, first chairman of the Republican party, replied: "If it be supposed that the Republicans are to be driven from their purposes by threats that Lincoln shall not be inaugurated if elected, permit me to remind you that the race whence they sprang must not be forgotten. They do not come of cowards, to fawn and crouch at the feet of any power on earth. They are free and know their rights and dare maintain them."⁷¹ Other Republicans answered that if the South were in earnest, now was the time to try the last resort. No good could be accomplished by one concession after another. If it must be settled by war then let it be war now. R. W. Thompson, leader of the Constitutionals, also expressed his belief that there was no virtue in this threat of secession.⁷²

After the election in November public opinion centered on means of conciliation and compromise. The southern states, as is well known, lost little time in carrying their threats into execution, a haste perhaps partly due to fear of public opinion in their own states. At first, in Indiana, it was believed the conservative sentiment of the South would prevent

⁷⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 16, 1860.

⁷¹ *Indiana Sentinel*, Oct. 3, 1860.

⁷² *Indianapolis Journal*, Aug. 17, 1860. "This stuff about dissolving the Union when any man is elected is all bombast." Also, Sept. 25, 1860.

secession. As this hope vanished it was followed by one that if the actual secession could be postponed until Lincoln were inaugurated he could avert it by conciliation.

When it came to a matter of compromise the two parties differed in Indiana. The Democrats favored concession, while the Republicans did not disclose much alacrity in that direction. The only promise of success seemed in some kind of restoration of the Missouri Compromise line. Governor Lane suggested that if the line were extended to the Pacific it might possibly be acceptable to the North. A resolution to this effect was presented in the Indiana house, but the Republican majority let it die on the table.⁷³ As plan after plan of conciliation was proposed by the Democrats in the Assembly and voted down by the Republicans, the Democrats lost faith in the majority's desire for peace. At the same time the Republicans regarded all this as mere partisan politics.

The last resort of the peace party was the Crittenden compromise. Almost as much oratory was wasted in the Assembly on this measure as in congress. The compromise involved an extension of slavery and on that the Republicans stuck fast. Their answer was that Democrats and not Republicans had repealed the Missouri Compromise, and since Democrats had left the fence down they might have all the pleasure chasing the cattle out of the field.⁷⁴ The Democrats were baffled at every turn. John H. Stotsenberg, of Floyd, proposed that they order a referendum vote of the state on the Crittenden plan, but

⁷³ *House Journal*, 1860, p. 146.

⁷⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 25, 1861. George E. Steele, of Parke county, Jan. 17, 1861, quoting Clay "I never will, I never can, and no power on earth can ever make me vote to put slavery where it does not now exist."

this too was tabled. It is entirely probable that the majority of Indiana voters at this time would have favored this. It is fair to say that a great many Republicans in the Assembly were flatly opposed to any offer of conciliation, expressing themselves after the manner of Mr. Defrees.¹⁵

Very similar expressions were voted in public meetings held in all parts of the state, the sentiment varying from secession itself to pledging their lives for the Union.¹⁶

With the inauguration of Lincoln and his plain statement of his own duty the question confronted Indiana of supporting the President or following Kentucky. The initial wobbling in Indiana was due to two editorials, one in the *New York Tribune*, the other in the *Indianapolis Journal*, the former the leading Republican paper in the United States, the latter the party organ in Indiana. Both papers advocated giving the seceding states the glad hand and bidding them Godspeed in their haste to secede. On the other hand at a meeting in Indianapolis, November 21, 1860, Lane and Morton both spoke frankly and forcibly on the issue. There was only one solution of the difficulty and that was pointed out so clearly that there seems no excuse for the drivel that was spoken and printed on the subject between November 1860, and April 14, 1861.¹⁷ The one sufficient

¹⁵ *Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 4, 1861. "Their first duty is to obey the will of the majority. Let them renew their allegiance to the constitution, then, when purged of treason, if they have grievances, we will bear them patiently."

¹⁶ See *Files of Journal and Sentinel* during the period. For the opposite doctrine, see *Madison Courier*. The *Journal* was weak throughout the war.

¹⁷ The best expression of the Democratic position is in the following resolution by a mass-meeting at Indianapolis, Jan. 8, 1861:

1. "That it is the highest aim and most imperative duty of

answer to this was made by the people themselves. When, on April 15, the call of the governor for troops to preserve the Union was posted in cities, villages and countryside there was neither question nor hesitation. The men came marching, demanding that they be armed and led to their country's defense. The following telegram is a type of those that came from every corner of the state:

MADISON, April 19.—Bachman, who was in Mexican service, desires to raise a company here of good, able-bodied men from the country. Will you accept them? I hope you will assist, and oblige your friend.

H. W. HARRINGTON

patriotism and philanthropy to preserve the Union and maintain the Federal compact in its spirit; and that in consideration of the true interests of Indiana, as well as fidelity to the Union, it is demanded that we use all means and exert every power to defeat the purposes of those whose spirit and act endanger the one or impair the other.

2. That we repeat the sentiments of our platform of 1855, which upheld 'non-intervention by Congress with slavery in State or Territory, or in the District of Columbia.'

3. That, whereas, a sectional party based upon sentiments of hostility towards the institutions of the Southern States, has triumphed, and in consequence the sections of the country stand in hostile position upon the verge of disunion and civil war; and, whereas, the most direful calamities must befall our country unless the sectional differences are speedily and properly adjusted; and although we have unabated confidence in the doctrine of non-intervention, yet to save the Union we will accept and earnestly support any measure of adjustment that is fair in its terms, and that will, by constitutional provisions, forever remove the question of slavery from the field of federal politics and legislation; and because we believe it will attain these ends, and because we believe that the Union must be preserved by the united action of the border and conservative States, and because it comes from a border State, of great influence in the confederacy, and is understood to be acceptable to the conservative sentiment of the country, we accept the propositions presented to the United States

§ 121 BREAKDOWN OF STATE GOVERNMENT

Partisan politics both on the stump and in the legislature reached its culmination in 1862 and 1863. The heavy drafts on the manhood of the state left their impress on every trade and profession. The newspapers of the state were robbed of virility and judgment. The lawyers, physicians and preachers were in the service of the nation. The business men who had not enlisted were too busy organizing trade for the supply of the army to take time for politics. The Union armies, after a series of successes, were on the defensive and calling for aid.

At the Democratic convention which met in Indianapolis, January 8, 1862, the presiding officer, Thomas A. Hendricks, made a sharp attack on the state government. His lamentations could not have

Senate by the Honorable John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky

4. That while it is the duty of the Federal Executive to maintain the possession and control of the public property, and execute the laws, yet in the discharge of that duty the highest considerations touching the material and moral prosperity of the country require that bloodshed and civil war be avoided, that the Union is to be preserved, if at all, by the cultivation of fraternal affection among the people of the different sections and by the maintenance of equal and exact justice.

5. That if Congress shall fail to adopt the measures proposed by the Senator from Kentucky, or measures of like effect, or call a convention of the States to revise the Constitution, then we recommend that the border slave-holding and non-slave-holding States, by an election of the people thereof, appoint delegates to a convention which shall, if possible, devise measures that may adjust existing difficulties, and reunite disaffected sections.

6. That we believe a large majority of the people are conservative; that we have confidence in the willingness of our people to mete out justice to every State.

7. That if civil war shall result, it would become the duty of Indiana, bound, as her citizens are, to the North and the South, by ties of communitiy and commerce, to act, with other conservative States, as a mediator between the contending factions."

been exceeded if the state had been laid waste and the people led away in chains."¹⁰

The whole campaign was carried on in much the same spirit. The war Democrats, those in sympathy with the conduct of the war, were at the front and their influence in the political campaign lost. There were dark hints of a Northwestern confederacy, a separation from Abolition New England, and open sympathy for the South. Governor Morton answered the charges against his administration with equal haughtiness. He spoke of armed interference with public meetings, of military arrests; Democratic newspapers were mobbed and private citizens arrested. At the October polls the state went Democratic by majorities slightly less than 10,000.¹¹

The General Assembly which convened, January 8, 1863, was a disgrace to both parties and the state. One seeks in vain for any trace of statesmanship or patriotism. At a time when the state was in the deepest distress it has ever known, the members were content to fritter away their time in petty political chicanery. They refused to receive the governor's

¹⁰ *Rockport Democrat*, Jan. 12, 1862. "May I not say corruption, when the factions of that party contend in mutual accusations of more enormous frauds and peculations, when the supporters of Fremont threw back the charges preferred and proven against him by the extraordinary defense that the mappers and miners at and about Washington, the Camerons, the Weeds, the Welles, the Morgans and the Cummings, are more flagrant plunderers of the Treasury than the camp-followers of Fremont, when this reeking corruption is not confined to the miserable wretches who sell hospital stores or give short weights, or adulterate the food and drink of the soldier, but crawls upon the very council table of the President, and mingles in cabinet deliberations, and is brought to the knowledge of the President by indubitable and record evidence, and yet the public wrong is not righted, when to such astounding lengths these things have gone." Also see *Indianapolis Sentinel*.

¹¹ The vote is given in *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 2, 1862.

message and in its place received that of the governor of New York. They higgled over a vote of thanks to the soldiers at the front. When they should have proceeded to the election of two United States senators the Republicans bolted in order to break the quorum. After spending considerable time in trying to secure evidence of embezzlement by the governor, the Democrats undertook by means of a Metropolitan Police bill and a militia bill to take from the governor the control of the military part of the government. In order to frustrate this the Republican senators withdrew to Madison where, if any attempt were made to arrest them they might cross over into Kentucky. The General Assembly thus robbed of a quorum in the senate, adjourned, leaving the state government without appropriations for its ordinary expenses. Taken as a whole, the members were not entitled to more praise than has usually been bestowed on them. It has usually been regarded as the most unworthy General Assembly ever convened in the state's history.

CHAPTER XXIV

§ 122 EARLY CONDITIONS

UNDER the old constitution Indiana did not succeed in organizing a school system. It is a mistake to say the people of Indiana in the forties, fifties and sixties were ignorant. The fact is they were far from it, but it is also true that a large number were unable to read and write.¹ There were several reasons for the failure of the school system. The foundation of the old common school system of Indiana was the one-room district school. During this period there were not enough children ordinarily in a district to constitute a school and not enough wealth to support it. The sentiment of the people was not yet united. The different churches objected with more or less vehemence to non-sectarian schools and still more vehemently to sectarian schools unless controlled by their own denomination. This opposition was especially detrimental to the academies, seminaries and colleges. Those who could afford it sent their children to private schools, thus withdrawing from the district school both its financial support and the interest of the best families of the community. In the preparatory schools and colleges children were given a surplus of dead languages and mathematics, neglecting the so-called practical subjects for which

¹ In 1846 there were 31 seminaries open, with 1,106 pupils; 17 seminaries were idle. *State Superintendent's Report, 1846.*

the people were clamoring. Finally, the teachers, though entitled to great credit, were a sorry lot.² The better ones soon found employment in the preparatory schools, leaving a residue of incompetency in the districts. The wages, from ten to twenty dollars per month, with board at the homes of the patrons, were not such as would attract superior men. Had there been teachers and funds sufficient, the decentralized system of control would have paralyzed all worthy effort.³

With the election of James Whitcomb governor in 1844 school sentiment began to improve. The common school began to take on definition and purpose, the first step in any system.⁴ The state was wholly

² H. F. West visited about 300 schools in the State during the year 1844. Incompetent teachers he found in four out of five schools. There was neither system nor articulation among them. *State Superintendent's Report*, 1845.

³ *State Superintendent's Report*, 1850, p. 1. "Indiana is far behind some of her sister States on the subject of common schools. Not that we lack legislation, we have entirely too much of it. The whole subject has attained an intricacy which requires the first civilians within our State to unravel, the great mass of the people are unacquainted with its intentions. Many of the statutes are at intervals of years from each other, and but a small proportion of those into whose hands falls their administration possess the means to inform themselves perfectly in regard to their duties. It is not infrequently the case that one set of trustees appeals to the superintendent, relying on one statute, and another set relying on another—each unaware that the conflicting statute has never been in force."

⁴ The first report of George H. Dunn, first State superintendent of common schools, was made Jan. 13, 1844. No statistics had been collected previous to this. The census of 1840 showed 1,531 district schools, with 48,189 children, out of an enumeration of 273,784, in attendance. The common school fund in 1844 was \$1,940,853; county seminary fund, \$21,437. The available income from this would total about \$120,000, or less than 50 cents per capita.

agricultural. All other interests were subsidiary to, and in comparison with it negligible. The old-time expression, "readin', writin', and 'rithmetic," expresses with fair accuracy the education thought necessary for farmers' sons and daughters.¹ Reading was the cornerstone. It was the key which unlocked the world's storehouse of knowledge. Get it and the rest would be added. Stress was laid on oral reading and if tradition does not mislead us there were excellent readers in those days of "lyceums" and "literaries." Second to reading was the art of writing. Business and social intercourse depended largely on letter writing. Each child, it was hoped, would acquire a good, plain, round hand. Itinerant teachers taught writing as an accomplishment, so that in every community one could find expert penmen. The third member of this educational trilogy was arithmetic, enough of which was thought necessary to enable the farmer to calculate whatever problems arose in his commercial intercourse with the world. Arithmetic beyond the rule of three, or double position, was more of an accomplishment than a necessity.

Grammar knocked early for admission into the district school, but was never received in full partnership. Grammatical language did very well for the ladies, but was rather detrimental in a man. Lawyers and ministers might, if they wished, acquire a smattering of it at the preparatory schools, but "talking proper" was no credit to the everyday farmer. Mathematics, including surveying, was a side study looked upon with favor. Any young man

¹ See *State Superintendent's Report* for 1844. Only a few counties represent anything except reading, writing and arithmetic, as taught in the common schools.

might aspire to be a surveyor without losing his standing with the masses.

§ 123 CREATING SCHOOL SENTIMENT

In 1830 there was organized in Cincinnati an association of public school teachers with the rather ponderous title, Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers. Among its members were such well-known teachers as W. H. McGuffey, C. E. Stowe, E. D. Mansfield, and J. H. Perkins. There was a board of directors, under a vice president for each state. In 1835 this board for Indiana was M. A. H. Niles, J. H. Harney, E. N. Elliott, John I. Morrison and M. Parks. In its annual meetings during the next few years Indiana teachers took an active part.* In March, members of the society organized the Cincinnati Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge. Its purpose was to improve the schools of the Mississippi valley. In 1845 they sent an agent to Indianapolis to confer with members of the society resident there. At a public meeting at Indianapolis a committee of nine, headed by Judge Isaac Blackford, undertook the work of supplying better teachers to the schools of the state. A circular was sent to each district calling for information concerning school conditions and needs.†

During the year 1844 H. F. West, a member of the Cincinnati society, traveled extensively over Indiana in the interests of a better school system. In August, 1846, he returned to Indianapolis and began the pub-

* In the volumes of its Transactions are addresses on all phases of school work. These are undoubtedly the source of the numerous papers on education published in Indiana from 1845 to 1852.

† Indianapolis Journal, April 7, 1847

lication of a fortnightly journal called the *Common School Advocate*, devoted to the common schools. In his introductory article the editor lamented the general backwardness of the schools. Reading was especially poor and he detected a tendency on the part of the older pupils to skip reading in order to take the higher branches.*

During the year 1847 the agitation for common schools increased. The governor had referred to the subject favorably in his message. Signed articles appeared in most of the newspapers pointing out the value of learning and especially the danger in its neglect.*

The General Assembly of 1846 by joint resolution recommended a state Common School convention to be held by the friends of education at Indianapolis, May 25-28 inclusive.¹⁰ This convention was attended by a large number of influential men. Governor Whitcomb and Chief Justice Blackford presided. Ovid Butler, Caleb Mills, S. H. Thompson, R. W. Thompson, Edward R. Ames and others were on the resolutions committee. The long discussions reached every detail of the schools. Various plans of organization were discussed.¹¹ Caleb Mills presented his famous statistics on illiteracy. A committee was appointed which drew up the school law of the following year. Throughout the four days' discussion there was only one subject before the convention: How to improve the common schools.

* *Indianapolis Journal*, Aug. 26, 1846.

* *Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 18, Jan. 25, Feb. 1, Feb. 2, and Feb. 10, 1847.

¹⁰ *House Journal*, 1846, 360; *Senate Journal*, 1846, 297. This resolution is not printed in the *Laws*.

¹¹ The proceedings in full are given in the *Indianapolis Journal*, June 4, 1847.

The convention met again, December 10, 1847, to hear the report of its legislative committee. A state Educational Society was organized which took up the work of perfecting the school system. The report of 1847 covers finances, organization, houses, texts, teachers and local administration.¹⁴ It was while this agitation was going on that the remarkable series of papers summing up the substance of the discussions was prepared and published in the *Indianapolis Journal* by Caleb Mills.¹⁵

A committee of the school convention and one of the house of representatives worked almost the whole of the session of 1847 on the school bill, but only succeeded in passing it through the house one week before the General Assembly adjourned. Feeling that it had had too little time to discuss it the senate referred the whole matter to the people in a referendum. The question was, do the people want to tax themselves for free schools? Two points would be gained by the referendum. Public opinion would be educated and the members would have time to consult their constituents and study the measure.

The Indiana Education Society held its first meeting, May 25, 1848, at the capital. The General Assembly had kindly given the society a room in the statehouse for headquarters. Rev. E. R. Ames presided and Joseph L. Jernegan, a brilliant lawyer from South Bend, made the principal address, on the subject, "The Relation of the Colleges to the Common Schools." Prof. Daniel Read spoke on the need of libraries in the country districts. Amory Kinney was employed to travel over the state and collect in-

¹⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, Dec. 20, 1847.

¹⁵ These papers were edited by Charles W. Moore and published in Vol. III, *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, 260, seq.



Vote on Free Schools, 1898 (Illustration)

formation on the common schools. Rev. F. C. Holliday spoke on the means of elevating the common schools. The convention lasted several days.¹⁴

The legislative committee, appointed, May 27, 1847, by the convention, consisting of Amory Kinney, O. H. Smith and Calvin Fletcher, laid before the General Assembly an elaborate report containing not only a detailed description of educational conditions as they then were, but pointing out the failures and suggesting remedies.¹⁵ Another committee, consisting of E. R. Ames, Jeremiah Sullivan, T. R. Cressay, R. W. Thompson, J. H. Henry, Solomon Meredith and James Blake, prepared an "Address to the People in Relation to Free Common Schools." This was sent broadcast to the people during the referendum campaign.¹⁶ The house committee, of which Amory

¹⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, May 31, 1848.

¹⁵ *Documentary Journal*, 1847, Pt. II, 145. This is one of the best reports available for a study of the situation at that time. This, together with the "Address in Relation to Free Common Schools," undoubtedly formed the basis for legislative action during this period. Following the "Address" in the *Documentary Journal* is a summary of educational conditions in all the eastern States. This latter was taken from West's *Common School Advocate*.

¹⁶ *Documentary Journal*, 1847, Pt. II, 161. A brief quotation from this eloquent appeal will show its nature: "In the older settled parts of our country, at the decease of parents, the children are sure of an education, the best of fortunes. They also generally inherit sufficient property to give them a start in life. And should they be left orphans and without property, they are in the bosom of the relatives and early associates of their deceased parents. They have all these friends to fall back upon when their father and mother are no more. Parents, when closing their earthly career under these circumstances, have, comparatively, but little cause to be solicitous for their children.

But in the West, circumstances are widely different. We live in a land of emigrants. We have but few men of wealth. The

Kinney was chairman, submitted a detailed report on the necessity of elementary teaching, training teachers, free schools, school taxes, superintendence, district boards, and libraries. This was a defense, section by section, of the bill submitted to the people.¹⁷ These documents were circulated by thousands. The General Assembly considered subscribing for the *Common School Advocate* for each school district.

The campaign for free schools was not an easy one. The referendum was not on the abstract propo-

great mass, though comfortable to live, are really poor compared with the older States. But few of our children have ever seen their grandfathers or the brothers or sisters of their parents—and, in truth, no reliable provisions are made for their education. Now, what must be the feelings of the dying emigrant father? He is leaving no property for his children beyond his funeral day. None of his relatives are near to throw around those orphans their guardian care, and at the same time no system of education is in existence to furnish them with that intellectual furniture which constitutes the greatest temporal wealth. He leaves them in poverty in ignorance, to the cold charities of a land of strangers and exposed to every temptation.

The free common school system may throw her broad mantle over this helpless class of innocent sufferers, to shield them from infancy and woe, to develop and give their minds far higher attainments, and plant them as virtuous and useful citizens in this broad and beautiful valley whose influence is to decide the destinies of this mighty nation."

¹⁷ *Documentary Journal*, 1847, Pt. II, 363. A study of this document shows where the opposition to the measure was. "Teachers are not chiefly responsible for the condition of the schools of a community, because they cannot of themselves establish and carry on schools. They cannot teach without scholars; and they cannot compel people to send scholars. Teachers may form plans, but if the people do not choose to have them executed they can send away the teacher, or keep the children from going to him. The people build and furnish the house, the books, etc., and they do as they think best about these matters. Teachers are

ation as many commentators seem to think. There certainly was an overwhelming sentiment in the state for schools, but these schools were to be free, poor and rich all jumbled together, common, devoted to reading, writing and arithmetic, non-sectarian, where children of infidels mingled with those of Christian parentage, and last and worst, to be paid for by all whether the payer had children or not. The people were asked to vote on a bill with all its details, and every politician knows how much more difficult it is to carry a bill in detail than it is to carry the general principle on which the bill rests.¹² For instance, Judge James S. Frazier, of Kosciusko county, op-

dependent on them for permission to teach, for pupils to teach, for houses, etc., wherewith to teach, and for subsistence while they teach. The power is with the people, not with the teachers. The people are responsible. The school officers are chosen by the people, must be directed by the people, and have no power to compel the attendance of the children. The legislature assumes no right to put any teacher in a schoolhouse, nor to place any child under one's charge, nor to debar the people from having children taught as their parents feel it a duty. The legislature prescribes conditions for the use of public funds in education, but it constrains none to put their children into a school. The people choose the legislature and can have one that will execute their wishes in the matter. The people's money will secure such teachers as will answer their views if they will fix a standard and require instructors to come up to it. The people can have good schools if they will. The people are responsible, for they make the schools what they are."

Still another campaign pamphlet favoring common schools was prepared by F. C. Holliday. James H. Henry, Joseph L. Jernegan, Jeremiah Sullivan and Charles H. Test, a committee of the Indiana State Educational Society. Judge Kinney took the stump for the measure.

¹² It may be thought that the expression in 1848 was on the general proposition, but a reading of the law submitting it will make the point clear. The house had worked out a long bill and passed it. This is expressly mentioned in the act as the bill to be acted upon. *Laws of Indiana, 1847, ch. XLIX.*



VOTE ON FREE SCHOOL LAW, 1846

posed the bill because it made the system local rather than state-wide. With a prescience far beyond his fellows he argued that they could never have a real system until money from a state fund was distributed equally to every child in the state. The result of the poll was satisfactory. The measure was endorsed by a majority of 16,636.¹⁵

The sore spot in the common school bill was the taxing provision. The people were just recovering from a period of financial mismanagement and, while they shared the visions of the friends of education, were reluctant to undertake to raise a large sum annually for schools.

With the warrant of the people in their hands the General Assembly of 1848 soon constructed a bill to increase and extend the benefits of the common schools, which received the signature of the governor, January 17, 1849. So fearful, however, were the members on the tax provisions that in order to get enough votes to carry the law a county local option referendum had to be authorized. This gave each county the privilege of adopting the law for itself. If the county voted adversely then the old school laws prevailed.¹⁶ The law was adopted in sixty-one counties and rejected in twenty-nine.

With the passage of the law of 1849 interest turned to the constitutional convention authorized at the same election which approved the law of 1849. Among the members of the convention were only a few of the outspoken champions of free schools. John I. Morrison, who was chairman of the committee on education, Daniel Read and Edwin R. May had to bear the brunt of the fight in the convention. No

¹⁵ The following map shows the vote on the last referendum:

¹⁶ *Laws of Indiana, 1848*, ch. CKVL.

progress was made, but the ground already won was held. The seminaries were abolished. Various provisions looking toward the consolidation of all school funds into the common fund were made, even a serious effort to divert the congressional seminary grant or to divide it among the several colleges of the state. One can not avoid noting their lack of vision when compared with such men as Kinney, Frazer, and the earlier agitators. The new constitution emphasized the common schools but gave only a faint authorization for a state system of education.

The first General Assembly under the new constitution took up the work of formulating a law organizing the common schools. Governor Wright in his message did not hesitate to speak plainly on the duty of the state toward these.²¹ On the committee of the house on education were Robert Dale Owen, chairman, and James R. M. Bryant, two of the most pronounced friends of schools in the state. It is scarcely too much to say that the preparation and passage of the common schools bill engrossed their whole time. On December 10, they returned an adverse report on a petition to convert the state seminary fund to the common school fund. Neither from the standpoint of law nor from that of the common good did they consider it advisable. Mr. Owen was especially insistent on maintaining the only non sectarian college in

²¹ *House Journal*, 1851, Pt. I, 19. "This is the most favorable view of the question. The same census shows that we have seventy-five thousand and seventeen over the age of twenty years that cannot read and write. This number believed by many to be more than we really have, has been greatly enlarged at a distance, in the public journals. In our zeal to advance the cause of sound learning, we have neglected to throw our energies and means in the right direction. Whilst we have been building up colleges and academies, have we not forgotten and neglected the great schools of learning, common, district and union schools?"

the state as an open forum for all science. If the income were distributed, he pointed out, it would provide one and one-sixth cents for each school child in the state.²²

Acting on a suggestion of Mr. Owen concerning a normal school, a petition was presented, January 30, asking that the state seminary fund to be used to equip a normal for the training of teachers of common schools exclusively. The petitioners were merely referred to the previous report.

Petitions to have English taught in the common schools; to enact a compulsory attendance law; to found a state normal; and to organize a normal department in some college of the state were heard and reported on. In the meantime the committee was cultivating a school sentiment among the members. Leading educators were brought to the capital where they lectured in the Assembly rooms. Finally on February 9, 1852, the committee reported the bill which became the famous law of 1852, the foundation of the old Indiana common or district school.

It should be said that the district school had been previously developed and hundreds of them were at that moment in successful operation. It is the merit of this law that it organized them into a state institu-

²² *House Journal*, 1851, Pt. I, 106. "Your committee are therefore of opinion that such divisions of the University fund would be illegal and unconstitutional, even if it were expedient, and inexpedient even if it were legal and constitutional. Your committee believe, however, that in strict conformity with the terms of the grant, the fund in question may be made directly to subserve the cause of common schools by establishing as a permanent branch of the State University, a normal department, for the training of common school teachers. Had the resolution referred to them made such a proposal, they would have reported unanimously in its favor."

tion and began that steady state support and supervision which in time gave us a real state system of education. The bill was fought vigorously at every step. Amendment after amendment aimed at the essence of the act was warded off. From February 9, it was postponed to March 10; from then to April 24, the committee of the whole came to a deadlock on it and asked to be discharged from any further consideration; on March 10 it was sent to a committee to be rewritten;²² this committee held it till May 12 and then recommended a substitute which was laid on the table; a half dozen proposed amendments would have prevented money collected in one county from being diverted to another; an attempt was made to submit the whole bill to a popular referendum but failed by a vote of twenty-four to sixty-two; and finally, on May 20, the house came to a vote and the bill passed by a majority of seven. The title was then amended on motion by Mr. Owen and the work was done.²³ After considerable opposition it passed the senate, June 2, by a majority of one.

§ 124 THE DISTRICT SCHOOL

Financing was and always had been the chief difficulty with the Indiana schools. In this respect the congressional land grant had been a misfortune. It had taught the people to expect the cost of education to be met without any sacrifice on their part. Not having been accustomed to paying taxes and always having associated them with oppression, the people

²² Mr. Owen was chairman of this committee.

²³ *House Journal*, 1861, Pt. II, 1842. Godlove O. Behm of Tippecanoe moved to add to the title "and to swindle the larger counties out of at least one-half of their Congressional Township fund." The representatives from many of the wealthy counties opposed it on that account.

were now reluctant to shoulder the burden of a half million dollars annually. Having determined to provide common schools for their children, they now searched every quarter of the horizon for resources which they could turn into a school fund. The congressional township fund consisting of \$1,607,819.13, the proceeds of every section of land numbered 16, the surplus revenue fund, consisting of \$551,529.92, given to the state under the Distribution bill, the saline fund, consisting of \$61,270.05 from the sale of lands around salt springs given to the state by congress in 1816, the bank tax fund, consisting of \$56,969.04, the proceeds of a tax of twelve and one-half cents annually on each share of stock in the state bank held by individuals, were merged. Besides these there were fines, forfeitures, escheats, and the proceeds of the sales of the old seminary properties throughout the state. All these in 1852 totaled \$2,268,588.14, which was to constitute the common school fund. It was estimated this would give annually about \$150,000, the balance, necessary to conduct the schools, remaining to be made up by a direct tax. For this purpose a general levy of ten cents on the hundred dollars was made. It will be noticed that there were two innovations here; the first and most opposed was the consolidation of all the county congressional funds. Some counties had many times as much money from this source as others; the other was the awful ten cent levy which would be a badge of bondage on those who had no children to attend schools. The law of 1849 had permitted those counties which so desired to tax themselves for the support of the schools, but this money never went out of the county. It seems now to have been a great struggle over a small matter, but it contained the whole question of a state school system. Without the power

to make this ten cent levy the state would have been compelled to quit the field of education. From this point the centralization and improvement of the schools have gone on steadily. Without it the state made no progress from 1816 to 1852.

Having provided the means of education, the law makers next took up the matter of organization. At the head of the intended system was placed a state board of education, an advisory board to the state superintendent, consisting of the superintendent, the governor, the secretary, treasurer and auditor of state. This body was to meet once a year to discuss and review the general conditions of the schools. There had been a great many suggestions offered for constituting this board. Caleb Mills had urged a board consisting of one superintendent from each congressional district. In the original bill of 1851 Mr. Owen had divided the state into fifteen circuits, each presided over by a superintendent, like elders in the Methodist church, who should meet at the capital annually as a state board.

The state board has never come up to the expectations of its founders and so far as its influence is concerned has until recently been a negligible quantity. There had been some suggestion by the school men looking toward the creation of a bureau of education by the state, whose function it would be to gather and publish information concerning the schools, not only for the use of the General Assembly but also for teachers and trustees. This would have been something similar to the United States bureau, though of course on a much smaller scale. The law of 1849 provided that the state treasurer should perform this duty. J. P. Drake, state treasurer, 1850 and 1851, made two reports under this law, neither of which has any value.

The burden of the state management has fallen on the state superintendent of public instruction. There is a long step between the old treasurer of state acting as state superintendent and this new officer by the latter name under the law of 1852. The latter was on a salary and traveled at the expense of the state, spending at least ten days annually in each judicial circuit where he superintended teachers' institutes, counseled with teachers and trustees and delivered lectures; who selected texts for the school room and books for the libraries, who heard and determined all appeals; who was general controller of the school fund and distributed it to the various counties; and who, finally, himself or by deputy, licensed all the teachers in the state who drew money from the common school fund. However, his most important duty was and still remains the collection and distribution of information concerning the schools of the state.

The county government was not utilized in the new school system further than in the management and distribution of the taxes. Each county was made liable for that part of the common school fund entrusted to it, on which it had to pay interest at seven per cent. The board of township trustees was required to report all its proceedings to the county auditor who placed the township levy on the county tax duplicate and returned the money together with the due proportion to the township. The state superintendent also distributed the common school fund to the townships through the county auditor and treasurer. It was a part of the auditor's duty to loan the county's portion of the permanent school fund, taking real estate mortgages. The old board of county school commissioners was abolished and its duties turned over to the county auditor.

The actual management of the schools was with

the board of township trustees. It was essentially a township system. Each civil township was incorporated as a school township, taking the place of the old congressional township which disappeared as a corporation. The new unit, the civil township, through its board of trustees, clerk and treasurer located school houses, built them with money raised by a township tax levy, took the enumeration, drew the money from the county treasury, hired teachers and dismissed them for cause, inspected the work and heard all complaints against the teacher. This was a great reform and an era of schoolhouse building followed. Not only was the school given a home, but the community was provided with a house for church, singing school, political and social meetings of all kinds. A state tax of one quarter of one mill on the dollar was laid for township libraries, to be provided by the state superintendent and placed in the custody of the board of township trustees and kept at a place determined by the voters of the township.

Such was the school law of 1852. Its framers hoped to see a schoolhouse in every neighborhood and it seemed their hopes would be realized. What buildings there were in 1852 were bad.² New buildings were erected at the rate of about 600 a year. These were the little "red bricks" of literature, though as a matter of fact nine out of ten were log or frame. The arbitrary district lines which patrons dared not cross were now a thing of the past and children could attend that school which was most convenient, though they crossed district, township or even

² *First Annual Report State Superintendent, 1852, p. 227*

"Most of them are dilapidated log buildings, located in some out of the way place in the woods, frequently in the midst of the largest and deepest mud hole of the country, surrounded on every side by stagnant pools and heaps of logs and underbrush,

county lines. Tuition was absolutely free so that all children could attend during the whole session. The township libraries were intended to place good literature at the disposal of all and now a set of uniform text books were contemplated so that schools might

infecting the air with their deadly miasma, and rendering it almost an impossibility to reach the house, and when there, equally problematical whether it will ever be possible to get away, a place fit for nothing else, and of course not for a school house, but selected for this purpose because the land can be turned to account in no other way. The house itself is a little square cabin, with a rickety door with broken hinges, which not allowing it to be moved in either direction, keep it constantly half open upon the mudhole without. The windows, long and narrow, placed wherever chance might suggest, without regard to the distribution of light with half the panes broken out, curtainless and shutterless the floor of puncheons, loose, uneven, with many and large holes interspersed, somewhat resembling in surface our corduroy roads, and forming a fine substitute for the rack or stocks of our ancestors the half-filled creeks, the gaping door, the broken windows and open floor, admit the air on every side, which, rushing through the room and up the huge chimney, render the house a fitting temple of the winds, while the sieve-like roof affords many a shower bath, and is the only means ever used to clean the house. All these things could be endured, even the air, cold as it is, is the pure breath of life, and though the ventilation be excessive, the strong constitution of farmers' children can endure it far better than none at all, were other arrangements made with any view to comfort. But when to these things we add the seats we usually see, the whole becomes unendurable. Narrow puncheons, scarcely better than rails, so high that with their utmost capacity of stretching the feet cannot be induced to touch the floor, and find that support they so much need; affording no kind of support to the back, these are the seats we find in these houses, giving rise, by the contortions and stretchings which the limbs and backs of the pupils undergo in seeking that rest which they never find, to the whole catalogue of crooked limbs, spinal diseases and round shoulders with which our land is afflicted. These seats are arranged, when anything in the shape of a desk is to be found, to face the wall, so that the eyes are exposed to the full glare of the light, the back of the pupil

be graded into classes.²⁴ Finally it was hoped that by a judicious selection of teachers and by training in teachers' institutes the reign of brute force in the school room might be brought to an end.²⁵ Women were beginning to enter the work of teaching and in-

is turned to the teacher, and his actions cannot be sufficiently watched, and great inconvenience arises in changing positions, and leaving and returning to the seat, from the necessity of climbing the high barrier which it offers. The capacious fireplace, shedding good cheer over the room, so efficacious in preserving the purity of the air, and so convenient for warming and drying the feet, cold and wet from the long walk through mud and snow, is one good feature of which modern improvement threatens to deprive us. Such are the structures in which yet a great portion of our children receive their early education."

²⁴ The State Board of Education, Nov. 15, 1853, adopted a full set of textbooks—McGuffey's Readers and Speller, Webster's Dictionary, Butler's Grammar, Ray's Arithmetic, and Mitchell's Geographies. *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 16, 1853.

²⁵ *First Annual Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1852, p. 306. "The time is come when the old system of tyranny, with all its abuses of cuffing, shaking, hair pulling, ear snapping, flogging, and whipping, should be abjured, discarded, wholly abolished, in our schools, in which are trained reasoning and moral beings, and instead thereof, there should be substituted the discipline of moral suasion, of love, of honor, of appeal to the moral sense and the conscience, and to the sense of self-respect. Flogging, and other forms of corporeal punishment, may be necessary in public schools, but, if so, the necessity is found in the erroneous notions of parents, or the want of mental, moral and practical qualifications of the teacher, rather than in the nature of children. If, under the prevailing public sentiment, and the existing habits of teachers and children, corporeal punishment be ever necessary, it should be inflicted very sparingly. On a child of spirit, and of self-respect, whipping is a very dangerous experiment. It may utterly break down his spirit, demolish his sense of honor, and destroy his self-respect. Then the child is hopelessly ruined, rendered utterly worthless and incapable ever after of manly sentiment, and of virtuous action."

telligent trustees and superintendents were appreciating their capability as teachers.²⁰ The work of ten years seemed to friends of the common schools ready to bear fruit when at one stroke the whole system was ruined.²¹

§ 125 THE SCHOOLS AND THE COURTS

The enthusiasm of the friends of education was equaled by the determination of its enemies. There was opposition everywhere, not only to the necessary taxation, but also to the administration and conduct of the schools. The new officers were not familiar with their duties. The power of the township trustees to select teachers for the districts was regarded dubiously by the patrons. Men everywhere opposed the new taxes, especially those levied by the township trustees. The courts were resorted to continually to prevent the collection of the school taxes. One of these suits, filed by Alexander Black against Greencastle township, Putnam county, to enjoin the collection of school taxes, was appealed to the supreme court, where, December 12, 1854, Judge Alvin P. Hovey, speaking for the court, held the law, so far

²⁰ *State Superintendent's Report*, 1852, p. 263. "Females are not only apt to learn, but they are peculiarly apt to teach. They seem designed and fitted by nature as the appropriate educators of childhood. They seem to comprehend by instinct and by intuition the physical necessities, the intellectual wants, and the moral longings of children. And it seems their peculiar province to train, influence and govern children. It is natural for them, their instinctive propensity to love, cherish, caress, amuse and instruct the young. And it is equally natural for children to love females, to yield to their influence, and to be persuaded by them to obedience."

²¹ The school laws here used will be found in *Revised Statutes*, 1843, ch. 16; *Laws of Indiana*, 1848, ch. CXVI.; *Laws of Indiana*, 1849, ch. CCLXX., and *Revised Statutes*, 1852, ch. 98.

as it authorized the assessment of a local tax, unconstitutional. The decision rested on two sections of the constitution; one of which directed the General Assembly to establish a "general and uniform" system of common schools, the other which forbade the General Assembly to enact local or special laws in certain enumerated cases, one of which was "providing for supporting common schools."⁵⁰ The school officials accepted the decision without protest, but from the public there was angry criticism of what the friends of public schools termed a narrow-minded reactionary court.⁵¹

Hardly had the above decision gone the round of public opinion until another part of the school law was overthrown. By the law of 1852 the congressional school fund was merged in the common. Springfield township, Franklin county, which had a large congressional fund, brought suit to enjoin the state from merging this and distributing it equally. In a decision by the supreme court, December 28, 1854, it was held that the congressional township fund by the terms of the grant in 1816 was limited to the use of the people living in the congressional

⁵⁰ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Dec. 16, 1854.

⁵¹ *Madison Banner*. "One of two things is clearly demonstrated. Our constitution is a prodigiously senseless and impracticable instrument and its makers were donkeys of unequivocal earmarks, or the supreme court of Indiana is a very incompetent set of interpreters."

Indianapolis Journal: "It is singular that every act of the legislature which aims at moral or intellectual improvement should have been destroyed by the present supreme judges. Our liquor law, defective as it was, had suppressed the traffic in this city more effectually than ever before. The court destroyed it, and called into pestilent activity a hundred doggeries. Our public

township.²² A necessary result of this decision would have been a long term in some districts and a short term in others, thus contravening the express requirement of the constitution for a uniform system of schools.

The governor, in his annual message in 1855, suggested that the General Assembly might remedy the defect caused by the decision. The Assembly accordingly rewrote the law of 1852. The distribution was to be made so that those townships with small congressional township funds should receive an amount from the common fund to equalize them with those having the large congressional fund. It was provided that no money arising from the congressional fund should be diverted from the township in which it originated. Thus the decision of the supreme court was avoided.

The law of 1855 made towns and cities school corporations with the same powers and duties which

schools were just beginning to be appreciated, and the efforts of teachers and officers had cleared the way for a profitable administration of the law. The court destroys the law, and leaves our whole public school system to be rebuilt, and the rubbish to be cleared out of it again. Some days ago the supreme court decided that under the constitution, the law could not leave such school districts to assess themselves to make up any deficiency in their fund. That stopped the growth of many a school house wall, which by this time would have had a roof over it, and scholars in it, and sent many children home to idleness. Now, the court says that the most important portion of the school fund is unconstitutionally appropriated, and the districts must lose not only the right to add to their fund, but the fund itself. The decision leaves the school law a wreck. There is not enough left after the removal of the Congressional Township fund to carry on the schools a month."

²² See 5 *Indiana Reports*, 34; *Indiana et al. v. Springfield Township*.

had been conferred on the civil townships. The demand for local control was too strong to be denied and the law of 1855 again turned over the control of the individual school to the patrons. This backward step of the Assembly was almost as disastrous as the adverse decisions of the supreme court. Under this provision the township trustees were required to number the school districts in their township and then each patron attached himself to whatever district he chose. On the first Saturday of October each year the patrons met at the schoolhouse, elected a director of the school, chose a teacher and began those interminable district quarrels which never ended until the old directorate system wore itself out about 1900.²²

The indirection of the General Assembly in again ordering the school funds distributed equally did not long go unchallenged. The patrons of Springfield township were just as loath to see their direct taxes distributed abroad as the income from their congressional township fund. They immediately enjoined the county auditor and treasurer from distributing the common school fund under the law. The supreme court, however, to the surprise of the school men, held the law constitutional. Since then the common school fund has been distributed in a way to make the entire funds uniform throughout the state.²³

But a more serious blow was yet in store for the common schools. The law of 1855, as noted above, had made cities and towns school corporations with

²² *Laws of Indiana, 1855, ch. LXXXVI.*

²³ *Quick et al. v. Springfield Township, 7 Ind. Rep. 506; see also, Quick et al. v. Whitewater Township, 7 Ind. Rep. 454.*

power to levy taxes and build houses. Surprising activity had been manifested in the work. It seemed that every corporation had begun a good building and had determined on a first-class school. A citizen of Lafayette, W. M. Jenners, brought suit to enjoin that city from collecting such a tax. The suit was substantially like that from Putnam county. It was attempted to show that the General Assembly had established a system of schools for the cities and towns different from the common schools, but the supreme court, holding firmly to its previous decision, overthrew the law and the common school system seemed hopelessly crippled."

In 1854 there were 938 townships, 82 cities and towns, or a total of 1,020 school corporations. The first enumeration, 1853, gave 430,929 children, and 2,491 licensed teachers, but there was no report of the number of schools or of the actual attendance. In 1854 there were reports from 2,622 schools and it was estimated that there were about 5,937, while it would require 8,915 schools to accommodate the children. It was thought as late as 1857 that not less than 3,500 districts were without schoolhouses of any kind. In 1854 there were 666 female and 2,432 male teachers. The total cost of the schools for a year was about a half million dollars. The average term in 1854 was two and one-half months. The average wages for male teachers was \$23.01 per month, for women \$15.62. These statistics, taken from the official reports, are only approximations, but they give us some idea of the conditions.

One gathers from the reports and the essays in

²² *Lafayette v. Jenners*, 10 Ind. Rep. 89. All these decisions are printed in the *Documentary Journal*, 1855, 470.

the newspapers that it was a time of great uncertainty for the schools. The chief cause of this was the attitude of the supreme court. The news spread over the state in 1853 that the whole law of 1852 was invalid and in many places schools went on during the winter under the old plan. Thousands of taxpayers neglected or refused to pay their taxes under the impression that taxes had been abolished. Scores of township trustees had levied taxes to build schoolhouses, many had arranged to build one for each district, and had gone ahead until most of the houses were in process of construction, when it was rumored that the trustees had no legal power to levy a tax for such purposes. Hundreds of the houses were abandoned by their contractors. As a result thousands of children were huddled into leaky, dilapidated log shacks fit only for the hogs and sheep which inhabited them in summer and the fleas that remained throughout the year.²⁰ On the other hand, Fort Wayne built an \$18,000 schoolhouse in 1859; Wabash, a \$15,000 one; and Goshen an \$8,000 one. During that year 666 schoolhouses were erected at a cost of \$292,820.²¹

Everybody seemed to take pride in the change from the district to the township system. Caleb Mills in 1854, thought the system would be almost perfect if there were a township trustee who had no duties

²⁰ *State Superintendent's Report*, 1853, p. 4.

²¹ *State Superintendent's Report*, Jan. 19, 1855. "Among the pleasing signs of progress in educational matters may be named the tasteful and commodious school structures that have been erected or are now in process of erection in various parts of the commonwealth. They have arisen in all their beauty and symmetry of proportion, not only in the towns, but they have gone up in some of the rural portions."

but to superintend schools, ten circuit superintendents for the ten districts of the state, and one state superintendent. The circuit superintendent was to visit each of the townships one day, inspecting at least two schools and at night addressing the young folks on "self improvement."

The township libraries were justly regarded with great pride, but there were difficulties in the matter of their distribution that required legislative assistance. There were 690 libraries purchased in 1853 for 938 townships. They were to be distributed on the basis of counties. Each library originally contained 321 volumes and cost \$213. The total 221,490 volumes cost \$147,222. The books were selected with great care. A few of these libraries are still in existence.²⁴ Nor were the founders of this library system disappointed. The state never invested money more wisely. The civil war soon made it impossible for the libraries to be kept up, but the good done by those already established was incalculable.²⁵

²⁴ *State Superintendent's Report, 1855, 739.* "There is a peculiar felicity in this provision of the system, inasmuch as it will prove in no slight degree, especially in the rural portions of the commonwealth, an important substitute for the living teacher and answer the purpose of a school on uninterrupted season. These volumes will be like gushing fountains to minds thirsting for knowledge. They will furnish to our youth and adults, of every age and pursuit, intellectual nutriment and mental stimulus. The wearied apprentice, the tired ploughboy, the exhausted clerk and the secluded domestic, will find in them encouragement and solace under all their toils, privations and discouragements."

²⁵ *First Annual Report, State Superintendent, 1852, p. 273.* "I can conceive of no provision within the power of law to make for the improvement of society, equal in potent influence to this township library principle of our school law. Children having

The period from 1852 to 1873 was necessary to close the gap between the people and the educational leaders. The reports of the early state superintendents are flowery with visions of a millenium produced by universal free education. The writers indulged in language which common people of Indiana did not then understand and never have greatly appreciated. "Children seem clusters of flowery beauty among the stern and rugged realities of life"; speaking of the difficulty of choosing books for the libraries, State Superintendent Larrabee observed: "He must bring to the enterprise industry and patience, liberality and catholicity of spirit to divest himself of all sectarian and party partialities and prejudices"; even Caleb Mills could say: "There is in the supervisory provision of the school law, a strange and inconsistent hiatus between the township trustee and the state superintendent. The strange eccentricities observed in the motion of these remote bodies in their several orbits for the last two years has led to vari-

become at the free schools correct, fluent and even graceful readers, take home the book from the library, and gather about them, at the fireside, on the winter evening, the younger children of the family and perhaps in many cases the older members, even the father and mother, and read lessons of wisdom, of enterprise and of patriotism and philanthropy. The reader and the hearer become interested, and awakened to new sources of thought, of knowledge, of improvement and of usefulness. In other cases the parent takes from the library books and reads to his little children, thereby stimulating and encouraging them to enterprise and virtue before they have learned to read for themselves. In this way how many a beautiful conception is begotten, and a firm resolve formed in the breast of the child, and how many a new idea is inspired into the mind of the parent? No adequate conception can be formed by us of the amount of profit and of improvement which our whole population must, in the course of one single generation, derive from the township libraries."

ous conjectures." It took twenty years for this "hiatus," as Mills called it, between the people and the educational leaders to be closed. The official leader of the one was the township trustee, of the other was the state superintendent. The law of 1852 was far in advance of the conditions in Indiana. There were neither officers nor teachers to carry it into effect, nor money to pay either. It required fully a half century to remove these three obstacles. One can scarcely say after reading the superintendents' reports whether the Indiana school system has grown from the top down or from the bottom up.

In 1853 colored children were omitted from registration and the property of colored people dropped from the tax duplicate. Each teacher was required before receiving pay to file with the township clerk a sworn report of his school, showing numbers enrolled, days taught, books used and branches taught. The greatest change of this year, however, took the actual licensing of teachers out of the hands of the state superintendent and placed it in the hands of a commissioner appointed by the board of county commissioners. The board might at its discretion appoint one or three school examiners. Teachers' licenses were to be of three, six, twelve, eighteen, or twenty-four months grades and the applicant was required to pass on orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and grammar.* The law of 1855 provided one library for each township and corrected the inequalities produced in distribution by the former law. The school term of three months was made sixty-five days and the day six hours.

* *Laws of Indiana, 1852*, ch. 103. In 1856 the whole law was rewritten in the light of the supreme court decisions. Cities and towns were made school corporations.

The General Assembly of 1859 reorganized the township government, placing it in the hands of one trustee, elected annually, and abolishing the township secretary and treasurer. In accordance with this the trustee was given the control over school affairs formerly possessed by all the township officers. The demand for local autonomy, however, was so strong that the appointment of teachers was taken from the township trustee and placed in the hands of the district directors, who were compelled to employ whomever a majority of the inhabitants designated and dismiss any teacher whom a majority demanded to be dismissed. The trustee was also compelled to permit the schoolhouse, when unoccupied by a public school, to be used for any purpose for which a majority of the inhabitants wanted it.⁴¹

As noted previously, the supreme court in 1857 almost destroyed the school system. The Assembly of 1861 as a consequence rewrote the law again. The voters of each city and town were directed to elect one or more trustees, as in the townships, to have charge of the schools. Special taxes were authorized in the local corporations to build and equip houses. The patrons of each district were required to meet on the first Saturday of October and elect a director to look after the school. The patrons not only retained complete control over the teacher as before, but over locating, repairing, building and removing the house. The county commissioners now appointed one examiner for a term of three years. The examinations for license were both oral and written. The three months certificate was dropped. Stated public examinations were to be held not less than every three months. Each male applicant paid the examiner one dollar

⁴¹ *Laws of Indiana, 1859, chs. CXVII and CXXXIII.*

and each female applicant paid fifty cents. The school revenues were to be distributed twice each year as at present.⁴² The law of 1861 gave the county examiner power to prescribe text books, but this was changed in 1863 and that power given to the state board. By the request of a trustee a particular applicant might be excused on a certain branch, in which case his license would be good only for the district designated. The examiner was also authorized to visit the schools of the county, the first legal, expert supervision provided for by state law.

The Assembly of 1865 abolished all laws on the subject of common schools and for the third time rewrote the school law. School trustees in cities and towns were to be elected by the governing boards of the same. The school trustees in the various school corporations were given power to levy taxes for building purposes. The county teachers' institute also dates from this year, holding which was made the duty of the county examiner. The school term was defined as sixty days, the school week as five. Physiology and United States history were added to the list of common school branches, and the township trustees were given custody of the township libraries.⁴³ The land-grant endowment for Purdue was accepted from congress and the law establishing the State Normal was enacted at the special session following. The year 1865 saw the school system again taking form. At the following general session in 1867 the last limitation placed on the common schools by the supreme court was lifted. This was done on the recommendations of both the governor and state superintendent who relied for success on a new su-

⁴² *Laws of Indiana, 1861, ch. XL.*

⁴³ *Laws of Indiana, 1865, ch. I.*

preme court and a favorable public opinion. The law of March 9, 1867, gave local school corporations power to levy and collect taxes for tuition purposes. This fund came to be known as the special tuition fund and the one for building, the special school fund. Both are kept separate.⁴⁴

The issue of Civil war compelled the Assembly again in 1869 to open the schools to colored children. The trustees, however, were required to keep separate schools for white and colored pupils. The same year saw the German language enter the grades as a subject for study. Its teaching was conditioned on the demands of parents with twenty-five children of school age.⁴⁵

No considerable changes were made in the school law in 1871 except a special act for Indianapolis, but in 1873 the whole law was rewritten for the fourth and last time. The acts of 1849, 1852, 1855, 1861 and 1865 had repealed all former acts concerning common schools, but the law of 1873 took the form of an amendment, a form which has been followed since. In cities and towns the school trustees were to be elected by the city councils or town boards. The maximum local tax levy was raised to fifty cents on the hundred and one dollar on the poll, district meetings were empowered to demand subjects besides the common branches; cities and towns were authorized to hire superintendents to be paid from the special school fund; joint graded schools could be established

⁴⁴ *Laws of Indiana, 1867, ch. XII.* It is surprising that no case was brought to test the constitutionality of this act till 1885, eighteen years after its passage. In the case of *Echenck v. Robinson*, 102 *Ind. Rep.* 307, brought up from Switzerland, the supreme court held the law constitutional.

⁴⁵ *Laws of Indiana, 1869, chs. XV and XVI.*

by adjoining corporations; the township trustees were authorized to elect a county superintendent to take the place of the county examiner. The superintendent was supposed to be a professional educator and devote his whole time to the improvement of the schools of the county. This was the reform suggested by Caleb Mills in 1834, and closed the gap between the state superintendent and the township trustees. The county superintendent, the township trustees and the trustees of towns and cities were constituted a county board of education. On at least one Saturday each month the superintendent was directed to hold a township institute, devoted to questions of class room procedure.* With the passage of this law the common school system was practically completed. Its characteristic feature was the district school. This school, with the township library, the literary, the spelling school, and above all, its old-fashioned, inimitable teacher, characterized a distinct period in our history. At its best, the district school turned out the self-made, common school-educated men whose biographies are met with now so frequently. The best of these schools have not been surpassed, the poorest were indescribable. The best was a happy combination of community and teacher for which the system can take little credit. The individuality of the teacher, now largely lost in our organization, then was the chief force in the school. A rapidly increasing number of the teachers were native Indianians, and as this number increased the schools improved. The development of our school system will be treated later."

* *Laws of Indiana, 1834*, chs. XXIV and XXV.

" There is a vast amount of literature on the subject. Only a few references to the legal documents have been given. The newspapers, the *Indiana School Journal*, the *State Superintendent*

en's Reports, the statutes and supreme court reports constitute the best sources for the study. The newspapers from 1840 to 1870 contain numberless essays, written in the florid style illustrated by Caleb Mills, dealing with the beauties and treasures of the cultivated intellect. The style is that of the stump speaker and camp meeting orator of the period—more ornate, but also more classic, than we are accustomed to.

CHAPTER XXV

BUILDING THE RAILROADS

§ 126 GENERAL CONDITIONS

ONE of the most difficult fields of historical investigation is that of industrial development. The people who spent their lives building railroads and those among whom the work was done regarded it as such commonplace routine work that no record was ever thought necessary. Of course one can go to the statute books and find the charters, can go to the official reports and get items of cost, capital stock, expense and income, but the vital facts of the railroads are more elusive. Nothing in the state has had a more tremendous influence or is more intimately linked with the life, occupation and character of the people than its railroads. This has been true in Indiana for fifty years and is still true. The location and growth of towns and cities, the localization of industry, the kind and amount of crops and to some extent the intelligence and progress of the different communities, are directly dependent on the railroads. In the old days when each farm produced everything its owner's family consumed, transportation facilities were negligible; but with the specialization of society and the interdependence of sections, the state could live scarcely a month if all the railroads were suddenly destroyed.

The railroad is a modern invention. Men are living, older than the oldest railroad in the United States—the Baltimore & Ohio, begun in 1827. Less than a year ago a conductor of one of the first trains

run in Indiana died. Yet the generation of railroad builders in Indiana has passed away. During the decade from 1825 to 1835 there was a great deal of discussion in Indiana as to the relative merits of railroads, canals and turnpikes. Before the bar of public opinion of that day the case for railroads was lost, and Indiana from 1834 to 1850 devoted nearly all of its public resources, including a munificent land-grant from congress, to the construction of canals and pikes. With the failure of that system the construction of railroads began.

Indiana by 1840 was all but bankrupt, and though the majority of the citizens felt that the state ought to build transportation facilities all knew it would be many years before it could do so. It was therefore necessary to find some other method of financing the railroads. The pioneer railroad of Indiana, the Madison & Indianapolis, had been financed by the state and by 1850 was earning good dividends.¹ The experience gained on the Madison road was valuable to the railroad builders of the state. Some years before this, in 1825, an American engineer had gone to England to make a study of railroading and his large volumes of reports were the texts for the builders.²

When the state definitely gave up its plan of internal improvements, by the law of January 28, 1842, it thereby marked the beginning of the railroad era. The people were rid of all illusions of state-owned enterprises and ready to go to work as best they could by private means. The roads and canals which they had built were of no value, but the lesson was invaluable. Since then the state has neither built any

¹ It was a part of the Internal Improvement scheme of 1834. See ch. XVI, *supra*.

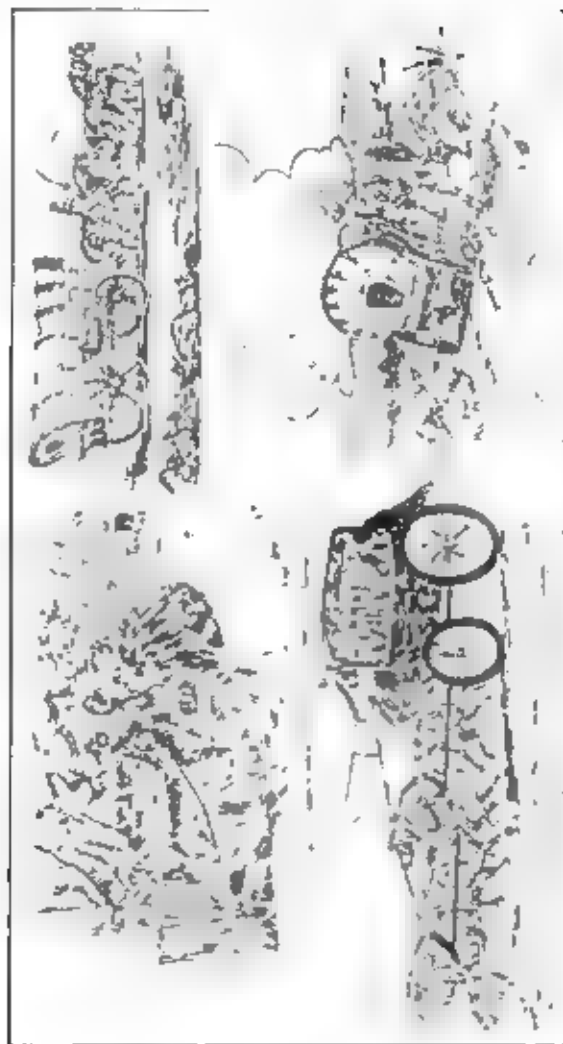
² Seymour Dunbar, *History of Travel in America*, III, 808. The volumes referred to are *Strickland's Reports*.

roads nor in any other way competed with private initiative in commercial matters.

Nothing of importance was done toward building railroads before 1850 except on the Madison & Indianapolis. The promoters of this road dreamed of a system which would gather the produce of the state together at Indianapolis, whence by the Madison railroad it would go to the Ohio river, where it would find an outlet either east or west. Five steamboats would connect at Madison for Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, or New Orleans. Branch roads were planned from the main trunk between Madison and Indianapolis, leading out to Shelbyville, Martinsville, Mooresville, Bloomington and perhaps other towns. From Indianapolis radiating lines would reach east and west and north to all parts of the state, even to Michigan and northern Illinois. Madison was to become the depot of this entire region. Its population doubled during the forties.

Before 1850 popular intelligence concerning railroads was very meager. Strickland's *Reports on Canals, Railways and Roads* was the best treatise, but it cost too much to be popular. It was not then possible to form a corporation and raise money by issuing bonds, but it was though possible to organize the people along the proposed road into a kind of mutual improvement society. This is substantially what was done in Indiana before the Civil war. The idea of a privately owned railroad on which the rolling stock of the owner alone could operate, like all railroads at present, was not common. Plainly the people thought of the railroad as another form of public highway, different from the state road, the pike and the canal, but still a public highway. With this thought, farmers along the right-of-way subscribed for stock, intending to pay for it by working on the

VARIOUS MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION



road and in this manner the roads were actually financed and built.

§ 127 PIONEER RAILROADS

Between 1832 and 1860 perhaps a hundred different railroad companies were incorporated in Indiana. In 1847 there were at least eighteen such charters issued by the General Assembly.*

One of the earliest roads of the state, antedating all in charter and partial construction, was the Indianapolis & Lawrenceburg. Originally a private company, the line was surveyed, perhaps before 1830, and some work done near, and in, Lawrenceburg. It was on this line that John Walker built an experimental section of track near Shelbyville and operated his horse car on the Fourth of July, 1832. It was chartered in 1832 and received assistance from the state under the law of 1836, but nothing was done toward construction till about 1848.

* These roads were as follows:	Page.
Brownstown & Scipio.....	46
Kosciusko, Elkhart & Miami.	124
Boonville & Ohio.....	368
Ferdinand & Indianapolis.....	411
Crawfordsville & Indianapolis.....	494
Lafayette, Monticello, Winamac & Michigan City .	349
Junction Railroad Company.....	496
Crawfordsville, Covington & Illinois.	510
Newcastle & Knightstown....	518
Newcastle & Richmond	521
Buffalo & Mississippi	535
Richmond & Hagerstown ..	543
Crawfordsville & Wabash revived... .	554
Mooresville Branch ..	556
Lake Michigan, Logansport & Ohio River	570
Mount Vernon & New Harmony ..	593
Wabash & Greenville.	606
Ohio & Mississippi (B. & O.).	619

—*Laws of Indiana, 1847.*

By act of that year the old corporation was revived by George H. Dunn and his associates, who undertook to construct the line to Rushville, with a branch over to Greensburg.⁴

Before the building of the road had progressed as far as Greensburg it was decided to make Indianapolis the terminus. It now became the Lawrenceburg & Upper Mississippi Valley. In 1851 it was merged with the Shelbyville & Rushville company to construct the road from Shelbyville to Indianapolis. In 1853 the line was completed. Mr. Dunn had worked twenty years to accomplish this and died the year following. The demand for this road arose from the trade relations between Cincinnati and the central part of Indiana, Cincinnati serving as the base of supplies during the first three quarters of the century. After trying for ten years to use the Ohio & Mississippi tracks into Cincinnati, the company bought the old Whitewater canal bed and in 1863 opened its own tracks into that city. A branch from Fairland to Martinsville was built for the company in 1866 by Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside. From Martinsville it operated the Vandalia down White river to the coal fields. In 1866 the company united with the Lafayette & Indianapolis to form the Cincinnati, Indianapolis & Lafayette.⁵

While Cincinnati was crowding Madison on the east, Louisville was crowding on the west. Each city was anxious to tap the trade of central Indiana, then rapidly concentrating at Indianapolis. Louisville had an ambition to be the gateway between the north and the south for the exchange of their produce. The

⁴ *Laws of Indiana*, Local, 1848, ch. LXXIX. See an account of the Shelbyville experiment in Hendricks, *A Popular History of Indiana*, 217.

⁵ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Aug. 5, 1866.

Louisville & Nashville railroad was begun in 1850 and from Nashville was designed to have radiating branches throughout the interior south. On the north a like terminus was hoped for at Indianapolis, with like radiating branches. A railroad bridge across the Ohio river would give Louisville an advantage which no other Ohio river city could claim. Moreover the water's edge could be reached on either side at Louisville with very little grade. The floor of the river, only a few feet below the surface of the water at ordinary stage, was of solid rock. Nature had made the Falls City the natural gateway between the two sections.

The Ohio & Indianapolis railroad was chartered, along with seven others, by the Assembly of 1831.⁴ Men from Indianapolis, Columbus and Jeffersonville were the promoters, but they expected their capital largely from Louisville. Nothing was done until 1848. The company was then revived and work pushed. By the close of 1852 the road was completed to Columbus, from which point its trains entered Indianapolis over the tracks of the Madison road. This agreement lasted until 1866 when the two companies were consolidated, the Indianapolis & Jeffersonville line becoming the main, and the Madison, the branch. The road has always prospered, especially during the Civil war. The big bridge across the

^a <i>Laws of Indiana, 1831, ch. CLII.</i>	Page.
From Lawrenceburg to Indianapolis	173
From Madison to Indianapolis and Lafayette	181
From Falls of Ohio to Lafayette	189
From Lafayette to Trail creek, in Laporte County	197
From Harrison to Indianapolis	205
From New Albany to Indianapolis and the Wabash River	214
From Richmond to Eaton	223
From Jeffersonville to Indianapolis	227

Ohio, however, was not completed till 1870, though chartered in Kentucky in 1829 and again in 1856.⁷

First of the east and west lines was the Terre Haute & Richmond, later the Terre Haute & Indianapolis and at present the Vandalia, a part of the Pennsylvania system. On May 12, 1847, there assembled in Indianapolis a group of railroad men from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri.⁸ Judge Elisha M. Huntington, Chauncey Rose and W. B. McKeen were the leading promoters in Indiana, Mr. Rose being its first president and its builder. Thomas A. Morris, the surveyor of the Lawrenceburg & Indianapolis, and later its president, surveyed two routes, the northern and southern; the southern was chosen, the northern being the line of the present Big Four through Danville and Greencastle. Work was begun on the southern route in December, 1848. The road was completed in 1852 at a cost of \$1,311,672, a large part of which was subscribed by farmers along the way in Vigo and Putnam counties and worked out on the building of the road.⁹ In 1851 the road was divided and Indianapolis made the eastern terminal. The net earnings of the road in 1852 were \$71,446; in 1868 they were \$552,664. Of all early Indiana railroads this was the best. In 1868 a second track was begun. The road hauled an immense amount of coal from the Brazil fields. Its freight business in 1868 was \$624,697.

The charter of this road, January 26, 1847, is a good example of these early charters. The capital stock was fixed at \$800,000. Specific directions were given for organizing the directors, keeping the books and selling the stock. Work must begin within five

⁷ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 22, 1899.

⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, May 14, 1847.

⁹ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 24, 1899.

years and be completed within fifteen. The corporation was given full power to prescribe the kind of carriages that should be used on its road, whether they should be propelled by horse power or steam and what toll should be charged. County commissioners were given power to take stock or assist in building the road. After the dividends had equaled the total cost of the road and ten per cent per annum the General Assembly should have power so to regulate the tolls that the annual earnings would not exceed fifteen per cent. The excess should be paid over to the state for the benefit of the common schools. The company was required to keep an accurate account of all building expenses and the state retained the option to buy the road after twenty-five years.¹⁰

On the 19th of January, 1846, a charter was granted to the Indianapolis & Peru road, intended primarily as a feeder of the Madison & Indianapolis.¹¹ No well-known names appear on the first board of the company, which was organized at Tipton, July 25, 1846. It was intended to build it entirely with local capital, land and labor being taken in payment for stock. Up to the close of 1853 only \$261,950 worth of stock had been sold, a large part of which was for unavailable real estate. In 1854 a bond issue of \$500,000 was ordered and turned over to a contractor who opened the road in 1854. On a large part of the way flat iron rails, discarded by the Madison road, had been used. The road was poorly built and the country undeveloped. On the first of January, 1854, it was consolidated with the Madison road. Neither road, however, was paying expenses, and the union was soon dissolved. In 1864 it was sold at auction. The second mortgage holders bought it in and ex-

¹⁰ *Laws of Indiana, Local, 1846, ch. XXIII.*

¹¹ *Laws of Indiana, Local, 1846, ch. CLXXXVI.*



PIONEER RAILROADS OF INDIANA

tended it to Chicago. With the improvement of the farms in Hamilton, Tipton and Howard counties the road was enabled to do a paying business and was soon brought into first class condition. For a long time it enjoyed the larger part of the Chicago traffic." It is now a part of the Lake Erie & Western.

The Indianapolis & Bellefontaine railroad was chartered, February 17, 1848.¹¹ This was one of the earliest examples of a connecting road. It was, by its charter, to connect its tracks at Indianapolis with the Madison & Indianapolis and, passing by Pendleton, Anderson, Muncie and Winchester, at the eastern state line with the Bellefontaine & Indiana. The charter was granted to citizens of Madison, Delaware and Randolph counties. The stock subscribed was to consist of "lands, labor, money or materials for construction"—a large part consisting of lands subscribed or donated to the company. The counties were empowered to take stock and the state reserved the right to purchase the entire road after sixty years by paying the cost of construction plus six per cent. interest.

Work was begun in 1850 and the whole road was completed by July 1, 1853. Ex-Senator O H Smith was president of the road while it was being built. This was the state's first connection by rail with the east. Over the short Bellefontaine branch it made connections with the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati; with the Lakeshore; New York & Erie; and with the New York Central. At Hamilton, Ohio, it connected with the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton for Cincinnati, the first direct connection between Indianapolis and Cincinnati.

The road unfortunately was laid down on the In-

¹¹ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Aug. 2, 1869.

¹² *Laws of Indiana*, Local, 1847, ch. XCIV.

diana gauge, four feet, eight and one half inches, but was soon changed to the Ohio gauge of four feet ten inches. As soon as the Vandalia was extended to St. Louis this road became the main route from St. Louis to New York and as such enjoyed an enormous trade. In 1868 the total earnings were \$2,962,613, nearly one million of which was net profit. The line was 138 miles long, of which 127 are without curve. The total cost of road and equipment up to 1864 was \$5,679,312, a trifle over \$40,000 per mile.¹⁴

The success of the Madison road from 1846 to 1850 caused excited interest in railroad building in all parts of Indiana. People began to feel and see the results of the new improvement. Companies were organized in all parts of the state to build roads from and to almost every town. Few of their plans were carefully studied out. The first thought was to rush to the General Assembly and get a charter. Many of these charters required an immediate beginning of the road, after which a liberal period, sometimes as much as thirty years, was allowed to complete it. Work was accordingly begun as soon as a few thousand dollars worth of stock could be sold. For a great many years, as late as 1870, abandoned work of this character could be seen in many parts of the state. There was no thought of terminals or connections. Through traffic was never mentioned.

The Junction road from Rushville to the Indiana state line in the direction of Hamilton, Ohio, was chartered, February, 1848. The charter was drawn by Samuel W. Parker and the company organized by Caleb B. Smith in 1850. The meeting at College Corner of the citizens along the route for the purpose of organizing the company was presided over by Dr. E.

¹⁴ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Aug. 25, 1892.

D. McMaster, president of Miami College, and the father of Gen. A. E. Burnside was secretary. The capital stock was \$250,000. Col. H. C. Moore, later superintendent of the Missouri Pacific, surveyed the route. In 1853 it was decided that if the road ever became valuable it would have to be extended to Indianapolis, so a new company, the Ohio & Indianapolis company, was organized and merged into the Junction company. Thus organized, ground was broken in Union county in January, 1852, and construction pushed vigorously for a few years, but the money on the stock, subscribed as usual in lands and labor, came in slowly. The road reached Connersville in 1860; a branch connected it with the Indiana Central at Cambridge City in 1864; in 1866 it reached Rushville and in 1868 it reached Indianapolis. The work of construction thus extended over a period of twenty years, a large part of the \$5,000,000 capital having been subscribed in Cincinnati. The branch to Cambridge City was extended to Newcastle in 1866 and thence on to Muncie and Fort Wayne, trains reaching these points in 1869. The completion and success of the road was due in a large measure to the work of J. M. Ridenour, its president after 1860.

The Monon, most distinctively Hoosier of all the railroads, was first known as the New Albany & Salem. What the ambition of its early promoters was is not disclosed, for it had one of the most modest charters of the time.¹² James Brooks seems to

¹² This charter was originally a general grant to any company agreeing to finish one of the State works of 1836. *Laws of Indiana*, 1842, ch. 1. An act entitled "An Act to change that part of the New Albany and Crawfordville McAdams' road, which lies between Salem and New Albany, to a railroad, to be constructed by a private company." *Laws of Indiana*, Local, 1844, ch. CXLXXIX. The company was forbidden to use scrip and each man was made personally liable for all the debts of the company incurred in making the road. Governor Whitcomb re-

have been the active manager of the enterprise, assisted by the secretary, George Lyman. Ground was broken in 1848, the contract being let in April. The line followed the old stage route and the early trains ran in connection with the stages. The road at first reached only to Borden, then called Providence, where it met the daily stage from the north. January 15, 1851, the first train reached Salem. The track was laid on stringers of oak about one foot square and from fifteen to thirty feet long, supported by cross or mud sills of equal size, at intervals of about four feet. On the stringers were nailed strips of bar iron on which the car wheels rolled. The route lay through the hilliest portion of the state and in attempting to miss all the hills the engineers laid down a road noted above all others in Indiana for its numerous and graceful curves. Near New Albany the road skirts the base of the Knobs, in view of the most picturesque scenery of the state.

The original intention of the company, it seems, was to build only to Salem, but by 1852 the line had reached Juliet, a small station on the south side of White river near Bedford. At this time a deal was made with the Michigan Central, which ran from Detroit west to Lake Michigan and wanted connection with Chicago. The Indiana General Assembly refused a charter to the latter company so it arranged with the New Albany & Salem company to extend its line north to Michigan City and join the Michigan Central at the state line, intending to run a branch west to the state line to join an Illinois road to Chicago.¹⁶ Whatever the plans, the road was con-

ferred to sign the bill, but held it till it became a law. It seems doubtful if the act created a corporation at all.

¹⁶ The New Albany and Salem secured an amendment to this charter, Jan. 12, 1849, authorizing it to extend its road "to such other point or points as said company deem expedient."

structed south from Michigan City almost to Gosport and north from Bedford to the same point. On Saturday, June 24, the last nail was driven seven miles south of Greencastle. The long run of 288 miles was made July 3, and on July 4 a celebration was held in New Albany.¹¹ In 1859 it became the Louisville, New Albany & Chicago. In the eighties the Monon built and bought a road from Indianapolis to Chicago by way of Hammond, entering Indianapolis, March 24, 1883, over the Lake Erie & Western tracks. Its official name is now the Chicago, Indianapolis & Louisville, but its popular and better known title is the Monon, from the station in White county where the two branches cross.

One of the greatest early lines of traffic and travel in the United States extended from the Chesapeake country up the Potomac, across to the Ohio, by Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis, continuing on west as the country expanded. This is the route of the National road. The Baltimore & Ohio railroad early paralleled this road, but the state of Virginia, for several years, refused to permit it to extend to the Ohio unless it came through Wheeling. Arrangements, however, were at length made and it crossed the Ohio at Parkersburg or Marietta and thence built on to Cincinnati. From the latter point it was planned to extend it directly to St. Louis. This would cut across Indiana from Lawrenceburg to Vincennes.

A charter for this company received the sanction of the legislature of Indiana, February 14, 1848.¹²

¹¹ *Washington Democrat*, June 30, 1854. For excellent articles on this road see John Poucher *Indiana Magazine of History*, XII, 328, and Geo. Carter Petting. "The New Albany and Salem Railroad," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XV, 342-363.

¹² *Laws of Indiana*, Local, 1847, ch. CCCCLXIX. The governor did not sign the bill.

Among the charter members were John Law, David S. Bonner, Samuel Judah, Abner T. Ellis and Thomas J. Brooks. The capital stock was \$5,000,000. Voters of counties were allowed to vote on the question of stock subscription by the counties. The corporation had full power to decide what kind of carriages should run on the road, whether propelled by horse or steam power. As in the case of many other Indiana charters of this period, a certain maximum income, eighteen per cent., was fixed and all earnings above reverted to the state. The road was built between 1849 and 1857 from Cincinnati to St. Louis, Ohio and Illinois both accrediting the Indiana company. It was of six feet gauge, the other Indiana roads being of the Pennsylvania gauge, four feet eight and one-half inches." As soon as it was completed a party of governors, United States senators and newspaper editors were taken as the guests of the road from St. Louis to Washington.

The pioneer railroad of the "Pocket" is the Evansville & Illinois, chartered January 2, 1849, to connect Evansville and Princeton with the Ohio & Mississippi at Olney, Illinois. Among the charter members was Judge Samuel Hall, of Princeton, its first president and the builder of the road." The road was built very largely from subscriptions by the cities and counties along the way. The company was permitted by its charter to build its tracks and bridges so that it could be used as a public highway on which it might collect toll. One year later, January 21, 1849, the charter was amended so that the

²² *Indianapolis Journal*, Feb. 5, 1853. "The time was when the ordinary gauge was entirely satisfactory—but in these modern times the wide six-foot track is all the rage, and the public are ready to catch at the idea as of the utmost importance."

²³ *Laws of Indiana*, Local, 1848, ch. CLXXXIX.

road might intersect the Ohio & Mississippi at Vincennes, the name being changed to that of its two termini.²¹ The company was organized in Evansville, August 16, 1849; the road was completed to Princeton in 1852, at which time and place all the people gathered to see the first locomotive most of them had ever seen. The road was eventually extended to Rockville and Crawfordville by a company formed of Vincennes men and known as the Wabash Railroad company.²² This last charter bore date February 6, 1851, and the route was by Sullivan, Terre Haute and Rockville to Crawfordville.

The first railroad to tap the Wabash at Logansport was the Newcastle & Richmond, although considerable effort had been made to realize a road from Cincinnati to Chicago by way of Logansport as early as 1848. The charter of the Newcastle & Richmond was amended, January 24, 1851, so that the company might extend its line to intersect the Peru & Indianapolis, or the Lafayette & Indiana, as the directors might elect.²³ The road was built rapidly. January 22, 1853, there were twenty two miles of the Logansport end ready for rails, of which enough for forty-five miles was on hand. From Kokomo to Anderson it was under contract. May 30, 1853, the first locomotive was put on the road at Richmond. The company then intended to push the road through from Cincinnati to Chicago. It was opened from Cincinnati to Logansport in 1855 and to Chicago in 1861.

The Wabash railroad, chartered as the Lake Erie, Wabash & St. Louis, was organized at Logansport and Lafayette in 1852 by Albert S. White.²⁴ Its cap-

²¹ *Laws of Indiana, Local, 1849, ch. CCXXXI*

²² *Laws of Indiana, Local, 1850, ch. LXIII*

²³ *Laws of Indiana, Local, 1850, ch. XLVIII*

²⁴ *Logansport Journal*, July 17, 24, and Aug. 14, 1852.

ital stock was \$4,000,000. The first train ran into Logansport, March 20, 1856. It was this road that helped more than any other to kill the Wabash and Erie canal. Its opening was hailed with great delight by the merchants of Logansport because it gave them direct and year-round connection with Philadelphia and New York.²⁶ An all-day celebration marked the event. Many of the noted men along the road between Toledo and Logansport joined in a banquet at the Barnett House and a ball at Partridge Hall.²⁷ For many years the Wabash was one of the busiest roads in Indiana. In the eighties and nineties it ran the most gorgeous trains in the world.

The Ohio, Indiana & Lake Michigan railroad was chartered, January 17, 1849, by Allen Hamilton,

²⁶ *Logansport Journal*, Feb. 23, 1856. "The opening will form a continuous railroad line between here and New York and Philadelphia, and will render us entirely independent of the canal, and enable our merchants and produce men to ship produce and import goods at all seasons of the year. The connections to New York are by the Wabash Valley to Toledo, the Lake Shore to Dunkirk or Buffalo, and the New York roads east. To Philadelphia, by the Valley road to Fort Wayne, the Ohio and Indiana to Crestline, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. This road greatly increases the facilities of travelers to Philadelphia, and merchants buying goods there. It will shorten by about twelve hours the time of the passenger and the period usually occupied in receiving freights, indefinitely. It gives the choice of a number of lines, and substitutes certainty for the very irregular means heretofore possessed of eastern communication."

²⁷ *Logansport Journal*, March 22, 1856. The speech by Mayor Thomas Bringham shows the spirit of the people. "It may not be improper that I should refer to the fact that in this city this work was first projected. Here was held the first meeting that considered the propriety and practicability of building a railroad through the Wabash valley to the lake. Here, on the 23d of June 1852, was held the convention that has realized our hopes and expectations by laying down the iron link that joins us with Toledo."

Hugh McCulloch, T. P. Randall, Samuel Hanna, Pliny Hoagland and Jesse L. Williams of Allen county and others from Laporte, including A. L. Osborne. It was the most distinguished list of men found on any of the early charters.¹⁷ The road as laid down by the charter was from the state line, east of Fort Wayne where it connected with an Ohio road to Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, to Laporte where it connected with a road, whose charter was issued, February 6, 1836, and amended February 8, 1848, to connect Laporte with the Michigan Southern for Chicago.¹⁸ The road was constructed by Samuel Hanna, who took the contract at one time for grading 136 miles of it for \$740,000. Jesse L. Williams, famous as an engineer of Indiana canals and pikes, laid down the road, while Hamilton and McCulloch financed it. The road was built to Fort Wayne in 1855 and by the close of 1858 had reached the west side of the state.

The St. Joseph valley was early in seeking an outlet by rail. The charter for the Buffalo & Mississippi railroad, a ghost that lived in railroad circles for twenty-five years, laid it through the valley. In 1838 Gen. Joseph Orr, of Laporte, organized a company under the charter, but raised no funds. In 1847 a meeting was held at Mishawaka in which Judge Thomas Stanfield took the business in hand and to him the community is indebted for the present Lake Shore road. It was chartered as the Northern Indiana in 1837. February 11, 1843, a company organized at Laporte undertook a charter to build a road from Laporte to Michigan City. This organization, provided for by the act of January 28, 1842, which

¹⁷ *Laws of Indiana, Local, 1848, ch. CCLXXV*

¹⁸ *Laws of Indiana, Local, 1847, ch. CCXXVL*

broke up the old internal improvements system of 1836, was to co-operate with the older Buffalo and Mississippi corporation.²⁹ Citizens of Laporte in 1848 secured a charter to build a division of the Buffalo & Mississippi from Laporte to connect with the Michigan Central at the most convenient point.³⁰ A subsidiary company was chartered, February 15, 1849, to build a branch of the Buffalo & Mississippi from Elkhart to the state line of Michigan.³¹ The citizens of Goshen organized a company in 1850 to build the section between Elkhart and Goshen.³² This company was empowered to extend its line eastward through Lagrange and Steuben counties to the state line and, with the permission of Ohio, to Toledo.

The Ohio and Indiana companies were consolidated in 1853; in 1854 the Laporte company of 1843 was taken in; April 25, 1855, this company, the Northern Indiana, consolidated with the Michigan Southern, chartered in Michigan in 1846, the resulting company taking the name of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern; recently it has passed under the control of the New York Central. These details have been given to show how our great systems of railroads have grown. This road was built into Elkhart and Goshen in 1851. The first through train from the east arrived in South Bend, October 4, 1851, an event announced by bonfires and a salute of forty-eight guns.

These are the more important but not all the railroads built in Indiana during this wonderful period. The era began with the settlement of the internal im-

²⁹ *Laws of Indiana*, Local, 1842, ch. XLII.

³⁰ *Laws of Indiana*, Local, 1847, ch. CCCCXXVI. A. J. Osborne and A. P. Andrews were prominent men on the charter.

³¹ *Laws of Indiana*, Local, 1848, ch. L.

³² *Laws of Indiana*, Local, 1850, ch. CXXI.

provement projects by the Butler bill and began to close with the financial stringency of 1857, ending with the Civil war. The Crimean war stopped the flow of capital from the east. The contrast between the work done during this period by private capital and initiative and that done during the preceding period by the state is significant. The individual resourcefulness of the people was boundless, but their capacity for socialized industry was small. There are other considerations, however, that must not be overlooked. The state in 1836 undertook a system doomed by its nature to failure. Canals could never have been made to answer the purpose on account of their immobility and the climatic conditions. On the other hand, railroads suited the genius and energy of the people. There was little commerce to be carried in Indiana in 1836, while in 1860 Indiana was a granary full of produce needed in the Crimean and Civil wars. There is another consideration not so self-evident as these, but just as certain. The citizens of Indiana lost more money on their railroads than on their canals. In the former case each individual farmer lost his small amount, from one hundred up to one thousand dollars, and pocketed the loss as due to his own lack of foresight. In the latter the state, as he thought through no fault of his own, lost a lump sum of \$10,000,000 or more, and he contributed his small amount in taxes with a feeling that he had been swindled.

§ 128 THE BUILDERS

It is easy to trace the legal, documentary history of our early railroads, but to get beneath the veil and see these men at their work is far more difficult. There were no newspaper reporters, with long pencils and magazine cameras. The people of those days

evidently did not care to read of the prosaic work on the roads or else the editors did not have the energy to go out and visit the construction camps. We have numerous accounts of meetings where railroad companies were organized, we have the verbose resolutions drawn up and voted at these meetings, we have accounts of the wondering people gathering to see the first train come in, of splendid formal banquets, salutes, and illuminations in commemoration of these events; but of the workers at work we have more detailed pictures of the Israelites working in Egypt than of our great-grandfathers building the railroads of Indiana.

It was realized even in 1850 that Indianapolis would be the principal railroad center in the state. Of the twenty-one roads operating in the state in 1857, eight had terminals in the capital. The interchange of freight and passengers became a great problem. Under the leadership of O. H. Smith of the Bellefontaine road, the presidents of the roads centering in Indianapolis organized the Union Railway company in 1849. It was engineered by Gen. Thomas A. Morris, the most distinguished railroad engineer of the state at this time. Union tracks were laid in 1850 connecting all the roads, and in 1853 a union depot was built 420 feet long and 100 feet wide, with five tracks inside, lighted with gas. It was estimated that 4,000 passengers changed trains daily at the Union Station.²²

The attention of the people was almost monopolized by railroad building. Interest was not limited

²² O. H. Smith, *Early Indiana Trails and Sketches*, 424.
"All the passenger trains of all the roads receive, discharge, and interchange passengers in this central building. The time each train leaves is shown by a stationary director. Tickets for all the roads are sold at the office by a single person, who expresses

by the boundaries of Indiana. A meeting was held at Indianapolis, November 20, 1846, at which Asa Whitney spoke on the subject of a railroad to Oregon. Long articles appeared in the papers, favoring the construction of this road by the national government.³⁴ The meeting at Indianapolis resolved in favor of the road and made Governor Whitcomb chairman of a committee to circulate petitions to Congress favoring it. October 17, 1849, a convention of delegates from all parts of the country met at St. Louis to discuss ways and means to build a Pacific railroad. R. W. Thompson and O. H. Smith, of Indiana, both addressed the convention in favor of the road. O. H. Smith spent several years trying to perfect an organization for a road from Lake Erie to the Gulf of Mexico. He succeeded in getting the road as far as Indianapolis and had the surveys completed between Indianapolis and Evansville when the stringency of 1857 stopped him. The Civil war postponed the realization of this plan a half century. These builders had in mind a direct exchange of the products of Indiana for the cotton of the South which would be manufactured in Indiana to supply the northwestern markets. A list of cotton mills chartered in Indiana during the period shows the substantial basis of this dream.

The work of the builders was, however, not all a dream. The heavy forest trees had to be grubbed from the right of way. The grading was done with pick, shovel, scraper and wheelbarrow. The farmers

no preference for any particular route over another. The entering and leaving of the trains are regulated by the superintendent of the station, and they move in and out with the regularity of clockwork at the precise time. The freight depots of the several roads are located on their own tracks, and the trains switch on and off the Union track as required."

³⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 24, 25, and Dec. 1, 1846.

along the way, assisted by immigrant Irish, did most of the work. Thousands of farmers along the way took stock in the company, paying for the same in labor and land. On one occasion in 1853 when the contractors on the Indiana Central were bending every effort to complete the work by a certain day some one distributed liquor among the laborers at Jackson Hill, five miles west of Centerville and a riot followed.²²

Many of the roads, necessarily, were poorly built and the rolling stock was, on most of them, of the flimsiest character. It was possible to build the road-bed ready for the iron without much outside capital, but the purchase of iron and rolling stock required cash. This had to be borrowed and was usually secured by a mortgage on the road. As it was difficult to get the cash, it was used sparingly, often resulting in a poor equipment. There was just the same mania for speed then as now. Wrecks were frequent, resulting in the loss of much property and many lives. In 1855 Governor Wright called attention to this in his biennial message to the Assembly, asking for a general railroad commission with power not only to regulate the operation of roads, but also their building and promoting. The Civil war broke into this

²² "There was a general row among the laborers at the deep cut at Jackson Hill on the Indiana Central railroad, five miles west of Centerville, last Sunday. Some person, contrary to rules, took whisky to the grounds Saturday night, and the consequence was that all hands and the cook got drunk and fell to fighting. The sheriff of Wayne county, with a corps of deputies, went out and arrested one of the ringleaders. He was rescued by his friends. The sheriff then went back to Centerville, raised an armed posse, went to the scene of the disturbance, arrested and marched into town 107 of the rioters. Some were fined and some were imprisoned."

fine industrial program and put back its progress about a half century.²⁴

²⁴ *House Journal*, 1855, p. 31. "Many of the common railroad accidents of the day, which are caused by unsubstantial, temporary bridges, defective locomotives, badly constructed railways, improper signals, and carelessness on the part of employees, might be avoided, by subjecting the conduct of railroad companies to the scrutiny of officers deriving their authority from the legislature. You are therefore invited to take into consideration the expediency of providing for the appointment of General Railroad Commissioners, who shall be practical and scientific men, and who shall be invested with power to visit the different roads, enquire into and report abuses, and require compliance with the provisions of law. The companies having charge of roads that connect with roads in other States adjoining should be required to keep, in this State, an office for the transaction of business. It is confidently hoped that the present legislature will, without authorizing any unreasonable interference with the affairs of railroad companies, provide, by the enactment of suitable laws, for holding to the strictest accountability all persons entrusted with the management of these corporations."

CHAPTER XXVI

THE CIVIL WAR

§ 129 RESPONSE TO FORT SUMTER

THE TELEGRAPH brought the news, Saturday, April 12, 1861, that Fort Sumter had been fired on. No excitement in Indiana, before or since, has ever equaled that which swept over the State. Saturday night and Sunday men crowded around the telegraph offices to hear the dispatches concerning Sumter. Its walls were crumbling, its barbette guns were silent, dense smoke hovered low over the fort, ships of war were standing in the offing unable to cross the bar, Sumter's batteries were silent, flames were breaking from the portholes, men were out on a raft passing up buckets of water, two magazines had exploded, the fort could not be seen through the smoke and flames, a corner of the fort had tumbled down, the flag was down, a white flag was up. So the telegrams came Saturday night and Sunday. People were dazed at the tragedy, but by Monday had recovered their composure and the long, hard struggle was on. The churches of Indiana were loyal beyond question. The sermons on Sunday were calls to arms. August Bessonies, of St. John's Catholic, Indianapolis, especially revered by the foreign immigrants in the state, instructed his parishioners that they had one single duty to perform which was to support the flag. On Monday the people gathered from the countryside into the little villages and read the daily paper. As trains pulled in people crowded round for news.

Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri were hanging in the balance. Especially were the people anxious concerning Kentucky and the southern border of Indiana.

The Irish citizens of Indianapolis met at the courthouse, April 16, and offered their services to the union. The railroads offered free transportation for soldiers and volunteers on their way either to the front or to training camps. The state was without funds but banks and individuals tendered loans for the crisis until the Assembly could provide money. Finally on Wednesday and Thursday telegrams and letters began to pour into the governor's office tendering troops for the support of the government. Union meetings were held in every county at which public speakers instructed the people concerning the issue and their duties. Resolutions were voted endorsing the union, condemning secession, and pledging care and support to the dependents of those who enlisted. By Saturday, April 20, one week from the firing on Sumter, Indiana was sure of the united support of its people and ready to settle down to the preparation for the contest. Few, if any, recognized the seriousness of the struggle they were entering. The younger men joined the army without hesitation, hurrying for fear some other company would be accepted into national service first. The older men clenched their fists in anger at the insult to the flag. The women went to work at once preparing such supplies as they could. Hardly a company of soldiers left for the front without a banner presented by the women of the community.

§ 130 ORGANIZING THE ARMY

As soon as possible after the firing on Fort Sumter, President Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 three-

months troops to execute the laws in the seven states then in rebellion. The proclamation, dated April 15, 1861, reached Governor Morton in time for him to issue, April 16, a proclamation calling for six regiments. The governor had already anticipated the call by appointing Lew Wallace, who had served creditably in the Mexican war, adjutant general, Col. Thomas A. Morris, a graduate of West Point, and prominently connected with the leading railroads of the state, quartermaster general, and Isaiah Mansur, a merchant of Indianapolis, commissary general. Orders from the war department had fixed Indiana's quota at six regiments to rendezvous at Indianapolis. The Fair Grounds in what is now the north central part of the city were secured for the camp and named Camp Morton. None of these men had had experience in the work but in a day or two Camp Morton took on the appearance of a barracks.

According to instructions of the adjutant general each company was to consist of 84 men rank and file. The officers, elected by the enlisted men, were to be a captain, first, second and third lieutenants. The organization should be perfected at home and the facts reported to the adjutant general, who, if the company were accepted, would notify the captain by telegraph to report with his company immediately. Such companies need not wait for uniforms nor arms but commence drilling at once and, if summoned, should report to the place of rendezvous where arms and uniforms would be supplied.¹ These orders and the proclamation of the governor set men to drilling in every town and village in the state. Advertisements appeared in the papers calling for volunteers to joint companies then forming. The telegraph wires were busy for a week tendering companies to

¹ General Order No. 1, *Indianapolis Journal*, April 18, 1861.

the governor. It seemed that every man in the state was coming to Indianapolis whether called or not.¹

By April 19 there were 2,400 men at Camp Morton. The state quota, calling for 4,683 men, was filled as rapidly as the men could be mustered in. On Saturday, April 20, five days after the call, orders were issued to organize the six regiments.

There were men on hand then for six more regiments, which, after unsuccessful attempts to get in connection with Washington, the governor decided to organize and hold in readiness for a second call which he felt would soon be made. The telegraph lines to Washington were cut, northern troops were fighting mobs on the streets of Baltimore, rebel regiments were organizing in Kentucky and Virginia, threatening invasion across the Ohio and Potomac, and the northern arsenals were all stripped of arms.

The governor as early as January 28, 1861, had begun to look after arms. A circular to the county auditors elicited no information. An examination of the state quartermaster's books showed that there should be \$200,000 worth on hand. Of these only a few, and they were worthless, were ever found.² As soon as the Assembly adjourned Governor Morton

¹ For a few scores of these telegrams, see *Indianapolis Journal*, April 19, 1861, and following. See, also, *Special House Journal*, 1861, p. 104, where a list of the first 124 companies is given, showing where they came from and the date of their arrival. The 124th company came May 1. The companies accepted in the first six regiments are given, with their captains, in Adjt.-Gen. Lazarus Noble's report, Jan. 8, 1863.

² Terrell's *Reports*, I, 427. "They reported 308 muskets worthless and incapable of being repaired; 54 flintlock Tager rifles, which could be altered at \$2.00 each to percussion locks; 40 serviceable muskets in the hands of military companies in Indianapolis which could be returned at once; 80 muskets, with accoutrements, in store; 13 artillery musketoons; 75 holster pistols; 28 Sharpe's rifles; 20 Colt's navy pistols; 2 boxes of

went to Washington where he got the promise of 5,000 rifles, but before they could be delivered the Civil war was on! He was compelled under the circumstances to call the legislature into session. That body lost little time in authorizing the governor to procure arms for 20,000 men. Agents were sent to the eastern arsenals but without result. May 30, 1861, the governor appointed Robert Dale Owen agent of the state to buy arms. He succeeded within the next two years in buying 40,000 English Enfield rifles, 2,731 carbines, 751 revolvers, and 797 sabres at a total cost of \$752,694.75.⁴

On the 27th of April the six regiments, numbered from the Sixth to the Eleventh, were organized into the Indiana brigade, under Brigadier General Thomas A. Morris and sent forward as soon as possible into western Virginia.

After the three-months troops had been equipped and mustered in, there remained at Camp Morton twenty-nine companies and in various parts of the state sixty-eight other companies already organized. From these the governor decided to organize five regiments of state troops under the recent act of the General Assembly. On May 6, the Assembly, still in session, authorized six state regiments to be formed of the volunteers then at hand. These troops, organized into infantry, cavalry and artillery, as seemed best, were to serve twelve months unless sooner called into national service. These regiments, numbered from the Twelfth to the Seventeenth inclusive, were organized into a brigade under Joseph J. Reynolds, formerly colonel of the Tenth regiment of the three-months troops.

cavalry sabres, 1 box powder flasks, 3 boxes of accoutrements. This was the condition of the State's arms on the 1st of February."

⁴ Terrell's Reports, I, 433.

In the meantime, May 3, 1861, the President called for 42,034 more men to serve as part of the regular army for three years, and 18,000 seamen. Under this call the secretary of war took four of the Indiana regiments, leaving two in state service. The four regiments left early in July. On July 18, the President also took the two remaining regiments, the Twelfth and Sixteenth, accepting them for the remainder of their year's service and assuming all the expenses of organization. These troops were forwarded July 23 to General Banks at Pleasant Valley, Maryland.

Enlistment activity did not stop with the call of May 3. There were few people so hopeful as to believe the armies then in the field could reduce the rebellion. The military spirit was kept up. The state was divided according to congressional districts and a camp for organization and drill established in each.* Commanders of the camps were usually selected from the district and when a regiment was required some capable man from the vicinity was commissioned to raise it.

Out of the excess companies at the disposal of the governor the Eighteenth regiment was organized and ordered to report to General Fremont in Missouri, August 17, 1861. In order to guard the southern boundary of the state more securely, orders were issued, June 10, 1861, to raise a cavalry regiment, the First, from the Ohio river counties. Conrad Baker, of Evansville, later governor of the state, was its colonel. Eight companies of the regiment left camp at Evansville, August 21, 1861, for St. Louis, and six companies left Madison, August 22, for

* These camps were, in 1863, at Vincennes, New Albany, Seymour, Aurora, Richmond, Indianapolis, Terre Haute, Lafayette, Michigan City, Kendallville, and Kokomo.

Washington City, being assigned to the Third cavalry, October 22.

During June, 1861, there were two more offers by the secretary of war to accept Indiana three year troops, June 10, the demand for six regiments was received and on June 22, for four more. General Orders No. 13 directed that in organizing these regiments there be 101 men in each company, consisting of one captain, one first lieutenant, one second lieutenant, one first sergeant, four sergeants, eight corporals, two musicians, one wagoner and eighty-two privates. The regiment was to be composed of one colonel, one lieutenant colonel, one major, one adjutant (a lieutenant), one quartermaster (a lieutenant), one assistant surgeon, one sergeant major, one quartermaster sergeant, one commissary sergeant, one hospital steward, two principal musicians, twenty-four musicians for the band and one thousand ten company officers and men, a total of one thousand forty-six.

By special request of the war department three of the new regiments were to be commanded by W. L. Brown, J. W. McMillen, and Sol. Meredith. Under this order Col. Meredith organized the Nineteenth at Camp Morton, Indianapolis, whence it left, August 5, joining the army of the Potomac at Washington four days later.

The Twentieth was recruited and organized at Lafayette under Col. W. L. Brown of Logansport. It was mustered in at Indianapolis, July 22, 1861, and left for the Potomac, August 2.

The Twenty-first (First Heavy Artillery) was organized and mustered in at Indianapolis, July 24, 1861, under Col. J. W. McMillen of Bedford. It was assigned to duty on the east coast and reported at Baltimore, August 3.

The Twenty-Second was organized at Madison, July 15, 1861, and mustered in at Indianapolis one month later under Col. Jeff. C. Davis, then a captain in the regular army. It was sent to St. Louis to join General Fremont.

The Twenty-Third, under Col. William L. Sanderson, was organized at New Albany and there mustered in, July 29, 1861. It went immediately to Missouri but soon joined Grant at Paducah.

The Twenty-Fourth was organized at Vincennes under Col. Alvin P. Hovey, later governor of the state. It was mustered in, July 31, 1861, and left one month later to join Fremont in Missouri and thence to Grant at Fort Donelson. The Twenty-Fifth was organized by Col. James C. Veatch of Rockport at Evansville where it was mustered, August 19, 1861, and dispatched to Missouri.

The Twenty-Sixth was organized at Indianapolis and mustered in, August 31, 1861. It left to join Fremont at St. Louis, September 7. It was commanded by Col. William M. Wheatley of Indianapolis.

The Twenty-Seventh was organized at Indianapolis and mustered in, September 12, 1861, under Col. Silas Colgrove of Winchester. It was assigned to the army of the Potomac.

These regiments, together with the First cavalry under Colonel Baker, completed the number required. They had been organized and sent forward in about six weeks. Two months from the time the secretary of war sent the request they were on the firing line. By this time the period of enlistment of the six three-months men had expired and they were returning to be mustered out. The government was anxious to re-enlist them and thus get the benefit of their experience and training. General Orders No. 17 directed the officers of the returning regiments to reorganize the regiments on a war basis for three years service.

The regiments were all reorganized by the last of September and back in the service, two regiments going to West Virginia, two to Kentucky, and two to Missouri.

Governor Morton urged that all the resources of the country be thrown into the war to end it at the earliest possible moment.* The rebel troops were pressing into Kentucky so persistently that it seemed the state would be overrun. Governor Morton thought the prudent thing to be to fight in Kentucky rather than in Indiana. The seriousness of the struggle was becoming manifest. General Orders 18, issued August 12, in effect established a regimental rendezvous in each congressional district. As fast as one regiment was called another began forming. A committee of Germans asked permission to raise a German regiment and a committee of Irishmen asked for an Irish regiment. These were both authorized in August, 1861.

The Twenty-Ninth regiment had been raised by John F. Miller of St. Joseph county as a part of the Indiana Legion but as soon as it was organized it was mustered in, August 27, 1861, and ordered into Kentucky to protect Louisville.

* Governor's Proclamation, Terrell's Reports, I, p. 333. "There is no cure like that of a lingering war. If, with the immense superiority in wealth, population and resources of the loyal States, their power was promptly exerted in anything like an equal ratio with the efforts made in the seceding States, this rebellion would be speedily extinguished. Let Indiana set the glorious example of doing her whole duty, and show to the world how much can be accomplished by the brave and loyal people of a single State. To this we are prompted by every consideration of hope, interest, and affection. All that we are, all that we hope to be, is in issue. Our cause is the holiest for which arms were ever taken, involving, as it does, the existence of our government, and all that is valuable and dear to a free people."

The Thirtieth was formed by Col. Sion S. Bass at Fort Wayne, mustered in September 24, and reported in central Kentucky, October 9.

The Thirty-First was organized by Col. Charles Cruft at Terre Haute, mustered in, September 15, 1861, and rushed into Kentucky to stop the threatened invasion.

The Thirty-Second (First German) was organized by Col. August Willich at Indianapolis, of German recruits from all parts of the state. It was mustered in, August 24, 1861, and hurried into Kentucky by way of Madison.

The Thirty-Third was organized at Indianapolis under Col. John Coburn and on September 28, 1861, departed for Louisville. The Thirty-Fourth, of Anderson, under Asbury Steele left for Kentucky by way of Jeffersonville, October 10, 1861. The Thirty-Fifth (First Irish) was organized at Indianapolis of Irish volunteers from all parts of the state and under Col. John C. Walker passed into Kentucky, December 11, 1861. The Thirty-Sixth of Richmond under Col. William Grose set out for Nashville, October 26, 1861. The Thirty-Seventh, of Lawrenceburg, under George W. Hazzard went into service along the Louisville and Nashville railroad in October, 1861. The Thirty-Eighth, of New Albany, left for Elizabethtown, Kentucky, September 21, under Col. Benjamin F. Scribner. The Thirty-Ninth (Eighth cavalry) under Col. Thomas J. Harrison was raised as sharpshooters by special order of the war department, at Indianapolis, and early in September hastened into Kentucky. The Fortieth, from Lafayette, under William C. Wilson left for Kentucky, December 31, 1861, for three months' service, later re-enlisting for the war. The Forty-First (Second cavalry) was recruited from the whole state, organ-

ized at Indianapolis, mustered in, September 1861, and left for Camp Wickliffe, Kentucky, December 16.

The Forty-Second was organized by Col. James G. Jones at Evansville, October 9, 1861, and after guarding the Ohio river a short time set out for Nashville. The Forty-Third was organized at Terre Haute, September 27, under Col. George K. Steele and sent to Spottsville, Kentucky. The Forty-Fourth, of Fort Wayne, was organized under Col. Hugh B. Reed, October 24, 1861, and six weeks later went to Henderson, Kentucky. The Forty-Fifth (Third cavalry) was composed of the six companies of the First cavalry sent east and four companies recruited in October, 1861. It was placed under Scott Carter of Vevay and sent into Maryland for guard duty. The Forty-Sixth was organized under Col. Graham N. Fitch at Logansport, October 4, 1861, and rushed to Camp Wickliffe, Kentucky. The Forty-Seventh, of Anderson, under Col. James R. Slack, was organized, October 10, 1861, and left Indianapolis for Kentucky, December 13. The Forty-Eighth was organized by Col. Norman Eddy at Ooshen, December 6, 1861, and left for Fort Donelson, February 1, 1862. The Forty-Ninth left Jeffersonville, December 11, 1861, having been organized there, October 18, by Col. John W. Ray. It reached Bardstown December 13. The Fiftieth was organized by Col. Cyrus L. Dunham at Seymour, September 12, 1861, and crossed into Kentucky on Christmas day. The Fifty-First was organized at Indianapolis, October 11, 1861, and left for Bardstown, Kentucky, under Col. A. D. Streight, December 16. The Fifty-Second was organized by Col. W. C. McReynolds at Rushville. Recruits came in so slowly that those who had enlisted in the Fifty-Second and those in the Fifty-Sixth were consolidated, January 20, 1862, and on February 7, sent to Grant at Fort Donelson. This

was known as the Railroad regiment and came from all parts of the state. The Fifty-Third was allotted to the Sixth district but recruits failing there it was organized by Col. W. Q. Gresham, of Corydon, in the Third district. The men from the Sixty-Second enlisted at Rockport, were added and the regiment organized, February 26, 1862. March 13, it reported at St. Louis. The Fifty-Fourth and Fifty-Fifth regiments were originally called out, June 10, 1862, for three months to guard the prisoners at Camp Morton but when Kirby Smith invaded Kentucky they were sent to that state. In October the Fifty-Fourth was reorganized under Col. Fielding Mansfield and sent into west Tennessee to join Grant. The Fifty-Fifth was to be the Second German but not enough recruits offering, it was merged with the Fifty-Third. The Fifty-Sixth under Col. James M. Smith was to be composed of railroaders but failed and was merged with the Fifty-Second. The Fifty-Seventh was organized at Richmond under Rev. Col. John W. T. McMullen and sent into Kentucky, December 19, 1861. The Fifty-Eighth was organized at Princeton in October, 1861, by Dr. Andrew Lewis but was placed under command of Capt. H. M. Carr of the Eleventh and ordered, December 13, to report to Buell at Louisville. The Fifty-Ninth was raised by Jesse I. Alexander of Gosport. He was ordered not to interfere with the regular recruiting stations but between October and January he completed his regiment, was mustered in, February 11, 1862, armed with Enfield rifles and joined Pope before Memphis. This regiment traveled 13,675 miles during the war.

The Sixtieth was raised by Col. Richard Owen at Evansville, but before it was complete was ordered to Camp Morton to guard prisoners, February 22, 1862. By June 20, it was ready and reported to Louisville. The Sixty-First (Second Irish) was to

be raised by Barnard F. Mullen but after waiting for recruits several months those present were placed in the First Irish (the Thirty-Fifth). The Sixty-Second, at Rockport, failing to organize was consolidated with the Fifty-Third. The Sixty-Third was to be raised by James McManomy at Covington by December 31, 1861, but only four companies were full. These were used to guard rebel prisoners at Lafayette till May 26, 1862, when they were sent to Washington City. Six more companies were added in July, 1862. The Sixty-Fourth and Sixty-Fifth were intended to be the First and Second artillery but for some reason the war department would not permit the batteries to be so organized and they remained independent during the war. Fritz Ameke, who had seen service in the German artillery, was in command of the Second artillery which was tendered General Buell but he declined it at a time when his army needed every support available. The refusal angered the governor and probably cost General Buell his command.

The winter of 1861 and 1862 was severe. The people had neglected their work for the war and crops were short. Thousands of troops had been rushed to the front in the hot summer months, expecting to be far to the south before winter came where heavy clothing would not be needed.

In western Virginia, on the Potomac, in eastern Kentucky and in Missouri there was suffering among the troops. Their letters home discouraged enlisting. The military movements had been anything but successful. The effect was such that the later regiments were organized with great and increasing difficulty. The spring of 1862 opened with the Union armies in motion, however, and the spirit of the people soon rose. Enlistments were beginning again after Mill Spring, Donelson and Shiloh when an order came

from the war department to stop all enlistments as the end of the war was in sight. Efforts were made to have the order countered so that recruiting stations might be kept open, and in Indiana this was done though from December, 1862, to July, 1863, comparatively few men offered. Governors of the loyal states urged the President to call more men to the service and end the war. Finally, July 2, 1862, he issued his fourth proclamation calling for 300,000 troops. The call was not opportune and there was trouble everywhere filling it. The Union generals had been outmaneuvered and their armies humiliated, the farmers were busy with the crops and above all the first excitement of the war had worn away.

On the 24th of June, 1862, Governor Morton had asked the people to form five new regiments, which, he hoped, would be the last called for.* General

* Terrell's Reports, 1, App. 333-

"Call for Five Regiments—June 24, 1862.

To the People of Indiana

The government of the United States has called upon Indiana for five additional regiments of infantry to complete the crushing out of the present rebellion. The necessity for this call need not be stated. It is sufficient to say that it exists, and as patriotic and loyal citizens it only remains for us to meet it. Indiana has done nobly hitherto in furnishing her brave and heroic sons to defend and maintain the Constitution and Union of our fathers, they have rallied around their country's standard, 'Many as the sands, one as the sea,' and their gallant deeds in the field is the theme of praise on every tongue.

Let this call, which I trust is the last I shall have to make during this War, be responded to with the same zeal and alacrity as former ones have been.

The published orders of the adjutant general give specific directions for recruiting and mode of organization. It is proper to state that in the five regiments called for are included the Twelfth and Sixteenth regiments now reorganizing.

Given under my hand, at Indianapolis, this 24th day of June, A. D. 1862.

OLIVER P. MORTON, Governor of Indiana."

Order 45, June 19, 1862, stating that the war department had given the state permission to raise five regiments included the directions for organization. Companies in these might run anywhere between 64 and 82 file, making the regiment from 200 to 400 smaller than the preceding ones. No special permits were given to raise companies, but the first man tendering 40 or 45 should receive a captaincy. The Twelfth and Sixteenth regiments, enlisted originally for a year, having been mustered out at Washington City, were reorganized and these men formed two of the five regiments for this call.

The Sixty-Fifth regiment was organized by Dr. Andrew H. Lewis and mustered in at Evansville, August 20, under Col. John W. Foster, later a noted diplomat and secretary of state under Harrison. Its first duty was guarding Henderson, Kentucky, from guerrillas. The Sixty Sixth from the Second district was organized at Camp Noble, New Albany, under Col. Roger Martin. It was rushed to Richmond, Kentucky, August 19, 1862, where it was captured eleven days later by Kirby Smith. The Sixty Seventh, from the Third district, was organized by Col. Frank Emerson at Brownstown and sent to Kentucky, August 19, 1862, and was captured at Munfordsville, September 17. The Sixty-Eighth, from the Fourth district, was organized at Greensburg by Benjamin C. Shaw with Lieutenant Col. Edward A. King commanding. It was mustered, August 19, 1862, and started at midnight for Kentucky where at Munfordsville it was captured, September 17. The Sixty-Ninth was organized at Richmond by Col. William A. Bickle, August 19, 1862, rushed to Kentucky, where, at Richmond, it was cut to pieces by Kirby Smith's army, two hundred men killed and wounded and the rest captured. The Seventieth was organized by Col. Benjamin Harrison, then reporter of the

supreme court and later United States senator and President, at Indianapolis between July 14 and August 12, 1862, left for Louisville August 13, and reported at Bowling Green, August 15. The Seventy-First was organized at Terre Haute, mustered at Indianapolis, August 18, 1862, and rushed to Richmond, Kentucky, where all but 225 were killed or captured by Kirby Smith. It was reorganized as the Sixth cavalry. These regiments captured at Richmond and Munfordsville were all exchanged, reorganized and entered the war again.

The Seventy-Second was organized at Lafayette under Col. Abram O. Miller. It was mustered in, August 16, 1862, and rushed into Kentucky next day to oppose General Bragg. The Seventy-Third was from the Ninth district, rendezvoused at South Bend where it was organized, August 16, 1862, and hastened at once into Kentucky. The Seventy-Fourth of the Tenth district, was organized by Col. William O. Williams, later a representative in congress, of Warsaw, at Fort Wayne. It was mustered in, August 21, 1862, under Col. Charles W. Chapman and left immediately for Bowling Green to oppose General Bragg. The Seventy-Fifth, from the Eleventh district, was gathered at Wabash where under Col. John U. Petit, formerly a representative in congress, it was mustered in and sent posthaste to Louisville. The Seventy-Sixth was a thirty day regiment organized by Col. James Gavin of the Seventh regiment, then home on furlough, to repel a raid by guerrillas on Newburg, Indiana. It was organized at Indianapolis, July 20, 1862, and stationed near Henderson, Kentucky. The Seventy-Seventh (Fourth cavalry) was organized at Indianapolis, August 22, 1862, by Isaac P. Gray, later governor of Indiana, and hastened into Kentucky. The Seventy-Eighth was a sixty-day regiment, organized at Indianapolis, Aug-

ust 5, 1862, for guard duty around Evansville. It had only six companies and was not reorganized. These regiments had been gathered hastily and left for active campaigning without any training. As soon as Bragg's army was driven out of Kentucky excitement died down so that recruiting assumed ordinary proportions again.

General Order 71, issued August 15, 1862, directed that one regiment be organized from such men as may offer in each congressional district. The first of these eleven regiments organized under this order was the Seventy-Ninth, at Indianapolis, September 2, 1862, with Col. Fred Knefler as colonel. It arrived in Louisville, September 3. The Eightieth was organized at Princeton in August, sworn in at Indianapolis, September 8, and rushed to Covington, Kentucky, to protect Cincinnati. The Eighty-First was organized at New Albany, mustered in, August 29, 1862, and joined Buell at Louisville at once. The Eighty-Second, from Madison, was sworn in August 30, 1862, and reported to Louisville under Col. Morton C. Hunter, of Bloomington, later a member of congress. The Eighty-Third was organized at Lawrenceburg, with Benjamin B. Spooner as colonel. It was mustered in early in September, 1862, and sent down on the Mississippi river. The Eighty-Fourth, of Richmond, was mustered in, September 3, 1862, under Col. Nelson Trusler and on September 8, hastened to Covington, Kentucky. The Eighty-Fifth, of Terre Haute, was organized, September 8, 1862, under Col. John P. Baird and at once proceeded to Covington. The Eighty-Sixth, of Lafayette, was sworn in, September 4, under Col. Orville S. Hamilton and went with its companions to defend Cincinnati. The Eighty-Seventh was organized at South Bend, mustered in at Indianapolis, August 31, 1862, and at once joined Buell at Louisville. The Eighty-Eighth re-

derxvoused at Fort Wayne, was mustered in, August 29, 1862, under Col. George Humphrey and arrived at Louisville, August 30.

The Eighty-Ninth rendezvoused at Wabash, was mustered in at Indianapolis, August 28, 1862, under Col. Charles D. Murray and hastened to Munfordsville, Kentucky, where it was captured September 16.

Under the stress of Bragg's invasion the regiments from the Seventy-Sixth to the Eighty-Ninth inclusive were raised without delay.¹ With the retreat of Bragg and Kirby Smith the recruiting slackened.

Regiments from Ninety to One Hundred and One were organized under General Order 72. The Ninetieth (Fifth cavalry) was organized at Indianapolis from all parts of the state. It was mustered in by companies and sent to various posts in Kentucky in September and October, 1862. Felix W. Graham was colonel. The Ninety-First was from Evansville. Seven companies under Col. John Mehringer were mustered in, October 1, and sent into Kentucky to watch guerrillas. Later companies were added to complete it. The Ninety-Second was to have been organized at New Albany but recruits were not forthcoming and the four companies raised joined the Ninety-Third which rendezvoused at Madison. It was mustered in by companies in September and October, 1862, and at once sent to Memphis under Col. DeWitt C. Thomas.

The Ninety-Fourth, to have been organized at Lawrenceburg under the call of July and the Ninety-Fifth, at Richmond, failed to get recruits and were never organized. The Ninety-Sixth at Indianapolis organized three companies which were transferred to

¹ Terrell's Reports, 1 App. 234. This order placed the whole State under arms, subject to being called to the colors at notice. Business houses had to be closed while the owners met to drill.

the Ninety-Ninth. The Ninety-Seventh, of Terre Haute, under Col. Robert T. Catterson was mustered in, September 20, 1862, and sent to Memphis. The Ninety-Eighth, of Lafayette, raised two companies only, which were transferred to the One Hundredth. The Ninety-Ninth of South Bend was mustered in October 21, 1862, and sent under Col. Alexander Fowler to Memphis. The One Hundredth, of Fort Wayne, was mustered in, September 10, 1862, under Col. Sanford J. Stoughton and sent to Memphis. The One Hundred First was organized at Wabash, mustered in, September 7, 1862, under Col. William Garver and sent to Covington to oppose Kirby Smith. It will be noticed that of the twelve regiments under this order five failed. Little was done in the way of enlistment from October, 1862, to July, 1863.

Upon the invasion of John Morgan, early in July, 1863, the governor called out thirteen regiments of minute men, numbered from the One Hundred Second to the One Hundred Fourteenth inclusive. These men were mustered in about July 10 and mustered out about July 25, 1863, and were made up of volunteers and companies of the Legion. Few were in service more than ten days.

In response to the President's call of June 15, 1863, for 100,000 six months' men, the governor of Indiana ordered a regiment enrolled in each district. The Union armies were all checked and the harvest at home was ripe. As a consequence the response was not encouraging. The One Hundred Fifteenth was organized at Indianapolis and mustered in August 17, 1863, under Col. John R. Mahan and hastened into East Tennessee. The One Hundred Seventeenth was mustered in at Indianapolis, September 17, 1863, under Col. Thomas J. Brady and reported at Cumberland Gap. The One Hundred Eighteenth rendezvoused at Wabash and under Col. George W. Jack-

son was mustered in, September 16. It followed the two former to East Kentucky and Tennessee.

The One Hundred Nineteenth (Seventh cavalry) was organized at Indianapolis by special permission of the war department. John P. C. Shanks, later a member of congress, was colonel. It was mustered in with twelve companies, October 1, 1863, and, December 6, set out for Tennessee.

During September, 1863, permission was obtained from the war department to raise eleven regiments of three-year men, one regiment from each district. Of these the One Hundred Twentieth, organized at Columbus under Col. Richard F. Barter; the One Hundred Twenty-Third, organized at Greensburg with John G. McQuiston as colonel; the One Hundred Twenty-Fourth, of Richmond, under Col. James Burges, the One Hundred Twenty-Eighth, of Michigan City, with Richard P. DeHart, colonel; the One Hundred Twenty-Ninth of Michigan City, under Col. Charles Chase; and the One Hundred Thirteenth of Kokomo under Col. Charles B. Parrish, were organized by General A. P. Hovey into a division and in April, 1864, went by rail to Nashville where it became the First division of the Twenty-Third corps.

The One Hundred Twenty-First (Ninth cavalry) was organized at Indianapolis, March 1, 1864, under Col. George W. Jackson and joined the army at Nashville in May. The One Hundred Twenty-Second was not organized. The One Hundred Twenty-Fifth (Tenth cavalry) was recruited at Vincennes and Columbus and February 2, 1864, was mustered in under Col. Thomas N. Pace. It went at once to Nashville. The One Hundred Twenty-Sixth (Eleventh cavalry) organized at Indianapolis March 1, 1864, was sent to the front at Nashville under Col. Robert R. Stewart.

The One Hundred Twenty-Seventh (Twelfth cavalry) was organized at Kendallville, March 1, 1864,

under Col. Edward Anderson and sent at once to Nashville. The One Hundred Thirty-First (Thirteenth cavalry) was organized at Indianapolis, April 29, 1864, and, under Col. Gilbert M. L. Johnson, left for Nashville equipped as infantry.

At the special request of the governors of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin, President Lincoln authorized these states to raise a force for Sherman to use for garrison duties and to guard his communications. They were to serve 100 days. Indiana contributed eight regiments to this army: the One Hundred Thirty-Second from Indianapolis, May 17, 1864, under Col. Samuel C. Vance; the One Hundred Thirty-Third, from Richmond, May 17, under Col. Robert N. Hudson; the One Hundred Thirty-Fourth, from Indianapolis, May 25, under Col. James Gavin, the One Hundred Thirty-Fifth from Indianapolis, May 25, under Col. William C. Wilson; the One Hundred Thirty-Sixth, from Bedford and Goshen, May 23, under Col. John W. Foster, the One Hundred Thirty-Seventh, from Indianapolis, May 27, under Col. Edward J. Robinson; the One Hundred Thirty-Eighth, from Indianapolis, May 27, under Col. James H. Shannon; and the One Hundred Thirty-Ninth, from Indianapolis, under Col. George Humphrey. These regiments hastened by rail to Nashville and were used guarding the railroads behind Sherman.

July 18, 1864, the President called for 500,000 one-year men to support Grant in his campaign against Richmond. Of these Indiana was to furnish 25,662. The One Hundred Fortieth was made up at Indianapolis, July 18, 1864, and under Col. Thomas J. Brady was sent to Nashville. The One Hundred Forty-First failed to organize, what recruits then offered being put in the preceding regiment. The One Hundred Forty-Second, of Fort Wayne, organ-

ized, November 3, under Col. John M. Compere, joined the army at Nashville. These were the only regiments organized under the call of July 18.

Before more could be raised the President, December 19, 1864, had asked for 300,000 more. Of these Indiana was ordered to furnish eleven regiments of one-year men. The One Hundred Forty-Third was raised from the First district, with John F. Grill colonel; the One Hundred Forty-Fourth from the Second with George W. Riddle, colonel, the One Hundred Forty-Fifth from the Third, with Will A. Adams, colonel; the One Hundred Forty-Sixth, from the First, Third and Fourth, with Merit C. Welsh, colonel; the One Hundred Forty-Seventh, from the Fifth, with Milton Peden, colonel; the One Hundred Forty-Eighth from the Sixth with Nicholas B. Ruckle, colonel; the One Hundred Forty-Ninth from the Seventh with William H. Fairbanks, colonel; the One Hundred Fiftieth, from the Eighth with Marsh B. Taylor, colonel; the One Hundred Fifty-first, from the Ninth with Joshua Healey, colonel; the One Hundred Fifty-Second, from the Tenth, with Whedon W. Griswold, colonel; the One Hundred Fifty-Third from the Eleventh, with Oliver H. P. Carey, colonel; the One Hundred Fifty Fourth, from the Eighth, with Frank Wilcox, colonel; the One Hundred Fifty-Fifth from the Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh districts, with John W. Wilson, colonel; and a battalion of five companies of the One Hundred Fifty-Sixth under Charles M. Smith. Part of these men were sent into Kentucky and Tennessee, and part were sent east especially to guard the Shenandoah valley.

Besides these regiments there was an independent cavalry company raised in Crawford county, July 25, 1863, for one year to guard the Ohio river. The Twenty-Eighth regiment of U. S. colored troops

was organized in Indiana, mustered in, April 1864, and sent to join Grant in the Wilderness.

The state furnished twenty-six independent batteries with 10,986 men. These were numbered in order from one to twenty-six. All were enlisted for three years except the Twenty-fifth. All were organized at Indianapolis but the First and Sixth, of Evansville; Third from Connersville; the Eleventh from Fort Wayne; and the Twelfth, from Jeffersonville. A six gun battery consisted of four six-pound rifled cannons; two six-pound smooth bore cannons, six caissons, one forge, one battery wagon, 128 men, rank and file; 92 horses. The four-gun batteries were the same except they had no smooth bore guns and of course only four caissons, and 89 men.

The entire army contributed by the state was 208,367 including 11,718 re-enlisted veterans. Of these 175,776 were infantry, 21,605 cavalry, and 10,986 artillery.

§ 131 BOUNTIES AND DRAFTS

While by far the larger number of these men enlisted freely there were times when other means than persuasion had to be resorted to. These fall under two general heads, Bounties and Drafts.

By an act of congress, July 22, 1863, all volunteers were given a bounty of \$100. This applied to all volunteers up to July 18, 1864. By General Order 191 of the adjutant general all re-enlisting veterans from June 25, 1863, to April 1, 1864, received \$400. During 1864 and 1865 a bounty of \$100 was paid for one-year service, \$200 for two years' service, and \$300 for three years' service. There were various other inducements offered by the general government but these were the chief.

During the first two years of the war Indiana furnished more than its proportion of men but with the heavy demands of 1863 it began to look as if a Draft would have to be made. Townships and counties furnishing their part were exempt from the Draft. In order to escape the Draft a system of local Bounties sprang up. Wealthy townships and counties offered high Bounties and thus drained poorer townships of their men, making it very much harder on these neighborhoods when the Draft was laid. The total amount of Bounties paid by the counties was \$15,492,876.04. Marion county thus paid out \$1,223,720 while Martin paid out \$12,400 and Starke \$1,378. The worst feature of this system was the development of a professional class of Bounty jumpers and deserters, very doubtful material for the construction of an army. The Bounty should have been state-wide and only open to residents.

There were two Drafts in Indiana. The conscription act of congress, July 17, 1862, formed the basis of the first. This law directed the President to prepare plans and specify the period of service, not to exceed nine months, however. All able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were included. A list of defects was made out, physical, political and moral, entitling the person to exemption.

The state Draft machinery consisted of a commissioner appointed by the governor for each county, who in turn appointed a deputy for each township. The township officer's duty was to take a poll of his township specifying each man within the designated ages and also a list of those who had already enlisted from the county. On a fixed day each deputy was required to deliver his poll to the county commissioner and sit with the commissioner and other deputies to form an exemption board. After this

board had acted the lists were sent to the general commissioner for the state who designated the number to be drawn from each township. The militia force of the state, exclusive of exemptions and enlisted soldiers, was found to be 173,178. There were according to this report 36,038 exemptions and 93,041 soldiers in the service. When the lists were returned the names of the eligibles of each township were copied on small slips of paper and the number required drawn either by a wheel or a blinded person. The county commissioner supervised the work in each township. As soon as the names were drawn they were handed to the marshal who notified the person to appear at the county seat in five days where he would be provided with transportation to Camp Sullivan at Indianapolis. By this means on August 6, 1862, there were drafted 3,003 men. Of these only 2,183 found their way to the army. Moreover the Draft was entirely unnecessary since the state at the time was over 8,000 ahead on enlistments. From every standpoint this Draft was a blunder. Its only value was in furnishing a list of available men on which military calculations could be based, and especially was it useful when the state was ordered under arms in 1863.

The conscription act of March 3, 1863, was more searching than the earlier one and was administered by the national authority. Exemptions were allowed only by an examining surgeon, those who had formerly been exempted becoming subject to this Draft as well as persons with dependent relatives and skilled workmen of all kinds. One objectionable feature was that by which a commutation could be purchased for \$300. A person drafted might, if he had means, also hire a substitute. A provost marshal was appointed in each congressional district who organized a board of enrollment. Subdivisions of

towns, townships and wards were made for each, of which an enrolling officer was appointed. This enrollment began May 25, 1863, but no draft was required until the call of July 18, 1864, for 500,000 men. The Draft was made in September and October and netted 12,474.

This Draft was hardly completed when the call of December 19, 1864, required 22,582 men. The Draft was again put in operation in March, 1865, resulting in selecting 2,424 men. Only 10,822 men were sent to the front as drafted men during the war, a total of nearly five per cent.*

* This account has been written from the official reports. W. H. H. Terrell, adjutant-general, published eight volumes of statistics in 1869. These are the best records available for Indiana at war. It would have simplified the work had he published all the General Orders chronologically, since most of the activities start from a General Order. In many cases resort has been had to newspapers to supply details of names and dates. Footnote references have been omitted because they would have occupied far more space than the sketch, and all facts can be verified from official documents or from newspapers under date given in text, or a few days after. The following table of the call for troops will give some more definite idea how the State was pouring out its soldiers.

CALL FOR TROOPS

By Lincoln	Indiana Quota
April 15, 1861—75,000, 3 months. . . .	4,683
May 3, 1861—42,034, 3 years.	"
July 2, 1862—300,000, 3 years.	21,250
Aug. 4, 1862—300,000, 9 months. . . .	21,250
June 15, 1863—100,000, 6 months. . . .	"
Oct. 17, 1863—300,000, 3 years.	18,997
Feb. 1, 1864—500,000, 3 years.	12,665
March 15, 1864—200,000.	13,008
April 23, 1864—85,000, 100 days. . . .	7,415
July 18, 1864—500,000, 1, 2 or 3 years	25,062
Dec. 19, 1864—300,000, 1, 2 or 3 years. .	22,582

§ 132 THE INDIANA LEGION

The militia system of the state had been entirely neglected previous to the Civil war. There were neither men nor guns ready for service. The act of

Reports I, App. 49, seq.

This does not show the large number of recruits. Concerning the draft, see report of Jesse P. Siddall, General Commissioner. The following table from the *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 20 and 22, 1862, shows the numbers drafted from each county:

Oct. 6 Sept. Mar.			Oct. 6 Sept. Mar.		
1862 1864 1865			1862 1864 1865		
Adams	37	117	48	Henry	160 170 17
Allen	507	36	298	Hancock	28 116 129
Blackford	80	70	9	Harrison	40 168 62
Bartholomew ...	24	11	13	Huntington	149 91 6
Brown	68	48		Howard	24 23 80
Benton	8	..	2	Jay ..	108 119 41
Boone ..	145	57	5	Jackson ..	17 146 67
Carroll .. .	73	82	17	Jennings ..	.. 1
Cass .. .	117	2		Jefferson ..	10 183 4
Centon ...	71	128	36	Johnson ..	150 .. 62
Clay .. .	..	129	22	Jasper	1 17 12
Clarke ..	71	87	36	Knox	13 62 16
Crawford ..	..	78	30	Kosciusko ...	111 28 197
Dearborn .. .	108	40	..	Lagrange	46 16 86
Dayless .. .	..	160	18	Lake	91 48 19
Decatur ..	45	17	64	Laporte	70 71 85
DeKalb ...	218	64	172	Lawrence ..	.. 80 2
Delaware ..	24	67	46	Madison	177 .. 68
Dubois .. .	67	92	6	Marion	281 427 134
Elkhart	128	27	105	Marshall	151 239 149
Floyd	253	42	31	Martin	10 139 18
Fountain	136	28	40	Miami	98 39 45
Fulton	25	31	1	Monroe	22 77 1
Fayette ...	70	..	1	Montgomery ..	150 .. 12
Franklin ..	106	86	12	Morgan ..	26 95 19
Grant	128	247	17	Noble	70 80 146
Greene ..	8	120	116	Newton ..	.. .. 1
Gibson .. .	3	..	17	Orange ..	20 67 45
Hamilton ..	47	..	42	Owen ..	10 110 127
Hendricks ..	32	113	70	Ohio ..	15 2 1

May 11, 1861, provided for a reorganization of the militia^a. The active militia were defined as all able-bodied men between 18 and 45 years and should be enrolled, armed at once and mustered into the service of the state. The men were divided into divisions, brigades, regiments, battalions and companies very similar to the United States army so that the drill in one fitted equally for the other. Every member took an oath of allegiance not alone to Indiana but to the United States. Officers were elected for the various positions except for field officers; uniforms, arms, bands, cavalry, artillery and all else necessary in the organization of an army were provided in the system.

	Oct. 6 1862	Sept. 1864	Mar. 1865		Oct. 6 1862	Sept. 1864	Mar. 1865
Porter	19	58	70	St. Joseph	143	107	53
Parke	..	54	15	Shelby	141	182	21
Perry	..	95	39	Tippecanoe	7	38	16
Posey	34	138	21	Tipton	10	40	78
Pulaski	16	81	20	Union	84	..	1
Putnam	61	17	79	Vanderburgh	61	97	2
Pike	11	65	23	Vigo	17	69	38
Randolph	46	134	36	Vermillion	..	37	16
Rush	150	4	26	Warren	..	85	7
Ripley	45	122	87	White	..	42	43
Spencer	..	118	2	Warrick	7	111	8
Scott	..	78	18	Whitley	153	10	132
Switzerland	..	8	..	Wells	100	156	11
Sullivan	14	141	68	Wabash	47	43	10
Steuben	62	42	20	Washington	20	177	25
Starke	22	47	19	Wayne	64	44	43

By districts the draft was as follows.

1864		1865		1864		1865	
First ..	1,050	157	Seventh ..	677	481		
Second .	790	286	Eighth ..	311	128		
Third .	571	144	Ninth ..	782	480		
Fourth ..	271	190	Tenth ..	241	1,146		
Fifth ..	415	144	Eleventh ..	911	345		
Sixth ..	933	454	Reports, I, 40, seq.				

^a Laws of Indiana, Extra Session, 1861, ch. XXXVI.

Not before September, 1861, could the governor organize the Legion on account of lack of arms. On the tenth of that month, John Love of Indianapolis and John L. Mansfield of Madison were commissioned to organize it. Camp Burnside barracks for the instruction of officers was established near Indianapolis where Gen. Henry B. Carrington drilled the officers for their prospective duties as officers in the Legion. As finally organized there were two divisions with major-generals and nine brigades with as many brigadier generals. Each county usually had a regiment and each township a company. It was to these training schools that the governor ordered every man to close his shop and report in 1863. But these camps had more to do than merely prepare troops for national service. Southern Indiana had nearly or quite 400 miles of border exposed to raids from Kentucky.

§ 133 BORDER RAIDS

Among the important campaigns of the Civil war the petty raids of Kentucky guerrillas along the southern borders of Indiana have long ago been forgotten. But at the time, the approach of a bushwhacking band to Henderson, Owensboro, Hawesville, Cloverport, Stevensport or Brandenburg or at the mouth of Salt river or Green river caused more excitement among the border counties than the battle of Chancellorsville or the siege of Vicksburg.

A band of bushwhackers had been operating on Green river and around Henderson since the outbreak of the war. A gunboat usually protected Evansville but even then the people did not feel safe, especially since the city maintained so many military stores.

Although there had been considerable pillaging previously on both sides of the Ohio the first formidable attack was made on Newburg, Warrick county, July 18, 1862. The leader of the marauders was Adam R. Johnson of Henderson, Kentucky. This band, partly composed of federal deserters, rendezvoused back of Henderson, terrorizing all of southwest Kentucky. When pressed too closely the squad broke up, gathering again by previous agreement when the danger had passed. Johnson later became a recruiting officer for Bragg with the title of colonel. He continued his bushwhacking till the summer of 1864 when a wound blinded him.

Newburg was not a military post, but a hospital was there with nearly one hundred convalescent Union soldiers, besides numerous federal stores. It was also the arsenal of two companies of Legionaries. Johnson appeared on the south side of the river at noon, July 18, while the people were eating dinner. His men were concealed on a large ferry boat and quietly rowed to the Indiana shore. When the boat touched the shore the men leaped out, rushed to the hospital and secured all the arms. The eighty-five convalescent soldiers were captured and paroled. For four hours pillage continued, though no personal violence was committed. Southern sympathizers, living in Indiana, directed their actions. Two of these were summarily shot as soon as Johnson left.¹⁰

A courier reached Evansville early in the afternoon and two boats loaded with soldiers were in Newburg by dark, where they found five companies of home guards already assembled.

¹⁰ Details are given in *Indianapolis Journal*, July 19, 21, 22, 1862; *Evansville Journal*, July 21; *Vevay Revueille*, July 21; *Madison Courier*, July 22.

As a result of the Newburg raid Governor Morton ordered General Love, of Indianapolis, with the Seventieth regiment to join Gen. James E. Blythe at Evansville for an expedition into Kentucky. The Sixty-fifth under Gen. John T. Wilder and other troops from all parts of the state joined in the expedition but the marauders could not be found. Col. John W. Foster with a regiment was stationed at Henderson.¹¹

The Fourth regiment of the Legion of Spencer county was called out during the period no less than twenty times to protect Owensboro. Col. John W. Crook, commanding, finally stationed a small guard there as a garrison. The town was attacked, September 19, 1862, the captain of the garrison killed and the men surrounded. The town was quickly overrun. A union soldier escaped from the rebels, swam the Ohio and gave the alarm. In eight hours 500 Legionaries were in Owensboro and in possession of the town. Learning that the rebels had formed a camp eight miles south of town Colonel Crook started at 2 o'clock a. m. to attack them. Reaching their camp on Panther creek at daylight he gave battle and in two hours had routed them. Thirty-six dead enemies were left on the field while the Legion lost two killed and 35 wounded.¹²

¹¹ The following telegram from Governor Morton, who also hastened to Evansville, July 22, will show the nervous activity of the time

"About one o'clock this morning near 1,000 infantry, cavalry and artillery crossed the river to Henderson, and took possession without opposition. At daylight Colonel Gavin advanced into the interior with 500 men. The ram 'Hornet' has gone up the river with one company of men on board to visit the town. Another company went to Henderson this afternoon." *Terrell's Reports*, I, 149.

¹² *Terrell's Reports*, I, App. 292 (official report); *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 24, 1862.

When the confederate swashbucklers were driven from Henderson and Daviess counties, Kentucky, they fell back into Hancock, Meade and Breckinridge counties where they threatened the Indiana border from Cannelton to New Albany. The same band that had terrorized Owensboro a few weeks later appeared at Cloverport, apparently attempting to cross the Ohio on a raid. February 3, 1863, a rebel battalion occupied Lewisport and threatened Troy. March 3, a force of mounted infantry visited Hawesville, Kentucky, with the intention of raiding Cannelton or Tell City. June 8, a similar detachment, perhaps the same, entered Cloverport, took a number of horses, but were frustrated by finding the Fifth Legionaries guarding the north bank of the river.

Early in 1863, General Bragg laid his plans for another campaign in Kentucky. Gen. John H. Morgan, with a division of cavalry, was sent on to open the way and collect fresh men and horses for the main army. In order to be successful it was necessary to maneuver the Union forces back to the Ohio river. A small band of Morgan's cavalry under Capt. Thomas H. Hines made a trip into Meade and Hardin counties. With a small band of less than 100 men he crossed the river at Flint Island into Perry county. Not meeting with any serious resistance he headed north on the Paoli road, reaching the latter town too late to surprise it. By that time three companies of the Perry, Crawford and Orange county Legionaries under Captains Jesse Eaarey, Horatio Woodbury and Robert E. Clendenin were hot on his trail, while Col. Charles Fournier with the Fifth guarded the river. Captain Hines did a thriving trade in horses, giving vouchers in correct form on the federal quartermaster at Indianapolis. On the eighteenth of June he reached Valeen in Orange county, by which time his true character was known

and enough Union soldiers were under arms to capture a brigade. Hines dodged back by Hardinsburg and Fredericksburg toward the Ohio. A union man, pressed in as a guide, after delaying them as much as possible led them to Blue River island where they were surrounded by the Legionaries under the three captains above mentioned and after a short fight in which four or five confederates were killed the whole company except Captain Hines surrendered. The captain plunged into the river ahead of his command and swam across to the Kentucky shore and escaped to return a short time later with Morgan. Fifty-two confederate soldiers surrendered and were sent as prisoners to Leavenworth.¹²

§ 134 MORGAN'S RAID

Captain Hines was only the herald before the king of raiders, Gen. John Morgan. The invasion of General Morgan will perhaps, for many years, hold the unique place in our state's history of being the only event of its kind. Not since 1812 had hostile armies faced each other on our soil. This is not the place to discuss the strategy of Bragg and Morgan. Whatever their purposes, and whether disobeying orders or not, General Morgan, with a division of confederate cavalry numbering 2,460, with four cannons, started from Alexandria, Tennessee, June 11, 1863. While the wreck of Lee's army was fleeing unpursued from Maryland and Pemberton was handing over Vicksburg to Grant, this dashing son of the Blue Grass was crossing Green river on a forlorn trip which 200,000 soldiers could hardly have

¹² Terrell's Reports, I, 161: *History of Perry County*, by T. J. De la Hunt, 237, for an exaggerated report, see *Vevay Revue*, June 25, copied from the *New Albany Tribune*. The best account is by Editor Comings of the *Pauli Eagle*, in *Indianapolis Journal*, June 22, 1863.

made successful. About nine o'clock, July 8, the raiders appeared on the hills of Brandenburg forty miles west of Louisville. The scouting service of General Morgan was marvelous, perhaps largely due to sympathizers along his route. An advance party had hastened on to Brandenburg the day before and when the Louisville and Henderson packet "J. T. McCoombs" ran up to the wharf they had captured it. While waiting for the main body to come up, another steamer, the "Alice Dean," was captured. The question of ferriage was thus easily solved.

Col. William J. Irvin, of Maukport, at once dispatched couriers with the news to Corydon and New Albany. The "Lady Pike" on its way up the river was sent back to Leavenworth for an artillery company and a gun. These arrived in due time. The gun was dismounted and taken up the bank opposite Brandenburg. When the fog arose the next morning the Legionaries opened fire on the "McCoombs" and had they not mistaken the confederates for a small marauding band might have sunk both boats. Instead of that they trained their guns on some squads of cavalry along the hillside until Morgan's guns appeared on the crest of the hill and with two or three rounds cleared the north bank. Col. John Timberlake with 200 or 300 Harrison county Legionaries opposed Morgan as long as possible, losing his gun and a number of men, and then withdrew along the road toward Corydon. On the road the raiders were annoyed by Major Jacob Pfrimmer with 200 of the Sixth Legion. The state troops fell back to a selected battle line six miles from Corydon. Here the confederate troopers bivouacked for the night, while the rearguard, which had had trouble in crossing on account of interference by a small gunboat, joined them. The militia in their front under Col. Lewis Jordan numbered about 400. Help for the militia

was expected but in vain, from New Albany. About one mile from Corydon Morgan found the Legionaries formed in battle line. At ten he ordered an attack; the battle lasted about an hour before the militia were surrounded and captured. Three hundred and forty-five men surrendered, four were killed and two wounded. Morgan had lost eight men killed and thirty-three wounded. The militia had shown themselves good marksmen but poor maneuverers in the face of the enemy.

Morgan pressed on into Corydon, making his headquarters at the principal hotel. The soldiery held high revel in the stores and other places where booty could be found. The flour mills were laid under tribute and the county offices looted. It was claimed that 500 horses were secured from Harrison county. When Morgan marched out of town late in the afternoon of July 9, he left eleven wounded soldiers to be cared for by the citizens. Protected by wide flankers Morgan proceeded to Palmyra where he delayed two hours, the right flankers taking Greenville in Floyd county while the left looted Paoli. From the former place he could cut the Monon road at Salem, from the latter he could destroy the Baltimore & Ohio at Mitchell. Instead of doing this, however, Morgan deemed it best to gather his troops together since armed enemies were springing up on every side. Accordingly all the confederates converged on Salem, which they reached about nine o'clock, July 10, 1863.

The militia hastily summoned to Salem were easily captured, one company under its captain walked boldly into town without arms. A company on a train on the way from New Albany was saved by the alertness of the engineer. The railroad track at Salem was destroyed, the stores were plundered

and \$1,000 levied on each of the mills." A spirit of deviltry prevailed among the soldiers here and in looting the stores they played all kinds of madcap pranks. No personal violence or cruelty was reported.

After a short rest in Salem the confederates turned southward, having found the roads northward and eastward heavily guarded. News also reached Morgan here that General Hobson was hot on his trail with 4,000 cavalry. By six o'clock Morgan was at Vienna on the Jeffersonville & Indianapolis railroad. Here he halted only long enough to burn the bridges nearby and tap the telegraph. From the latter source he learned that the state was virtually swarming with soldiers and every train from west, north, east and south was bringing more. The militia along his probable route eastward were felling trees in the road. The night of the tenth, Morgan camped near Lexington in Scott county. Col. Samuel B. Sering, with 2,000 militia was between him and the river, so on the eleventh he again turned northward toward Vernon, his right wing threatening Madison. At Vernon he found a well intrenched force of nearly 500 men, which he decided not to attack. In order to conceal his weakness, how-

¹² Terrell's Reports, I, 184. "Duke relates this anecdote: 'A small swivel used by the younger population of Salem to celebrate Christmas and the Fourth of July, had been planted to receive us. About eighteen inches long, it was loaded to the muzzle, and mounted in the Public Square by being propped against a stick of firewood. It was not fired, however, for the man deputized to perform that important duty, somewhat astounded by the sudden dash into town, dropped the coal of fire with which he should have touched it off, and before he could get another, the rebels captured the piece. The shuddering imagination refuses to contemplate the consequences had that swivel been touched off.'"

ever, he sent in a demand for surrender and threw out skirmishes under cover of which he moved off toward Dupont, parleying as long as possible with Colonel Williams who was making heroic preparations for the impending battle. About midnight Morgan went into camp at Dupont, eight miles from Vernon. Here the railroad was destroyed and a number of stores raided.

At four o'clock, Sunday, July 12, Morgan was on the road again, headed for Versailles. About one-thirty o'clock in the afternoon his advance guard dashed into Versailles and captured 300 militia under Col. James H. Cravens. After a rest of two hours, Morgan left Versailles for Osgood, following the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, tearing up the track and burning the bridges. At Sunman were 2,500 men under Col. James Gavin. Encountering their pickets Morgan turned aside and camped a few miles beyond. Leaving camp at five in the morning he reached Harrison, Ohio, at twelve, having torn up the railroad tracks at a number of places. At this point the chase passed into Ohio and most of the Indiana troops turned home. The chase was continued by General Hobson to Salineville near the east boundary of Ohio where July 26, Morgan and a remnant of 250 men were captured.¹⁴

¹⁴ Terrell's *Reports*, I, 165; see Morton's *Address*, App. 301. "At the first landing on our soil, the rebel advance was met and fought by the neighboring Legion, and, although our forces were few in number, and were driven back, they gave the rebels a clear foretaste of what they might expect when they penetrated the interior of the State. Within ten hours after they entered our borders, their invasion was converted into a rapid and desperate fight. In whatever direction they turned, they were confronted by large bodies of armed men. Wherever they approached the river, with the view to crossing, they found large bodies of troops prepared to dispute their passage. In half a dozen cases

§ 135 OPPOSITION TO THE WAR

Among the people of Indiana there was at all times considerable opposition to the war. In most cases this resulted only in more or less angry argument but in some cases it was expressed in acts of violence. The chief cause of this opposition is found in political partisanship which a great many politicians were unable to lay aside.¹² There has been assertion to the effect that southern Indiana, because of blood kinship with the confederacy, was not so active as the northern part of the state. Such assertion as tested by statistics of enlistment, draft, home guard activity and acts of treasonable violence, seems beside the fact. Johnson, Hines and Morgan all failed to find sympathy on the southern border. The treasonable organizations of the Golden Circle were pretty evenly distributed over the state. Resistance to the draft was found in much the same

they were offered battle, which they invariably declined. They dodged and ran by night and day, and finally succeeded in making their escape over our eastern border into Ohio."

Morgan spent five days in Indiana and destroyed about \$500,000 worth of property. The best account is by Gen. Basil Duke, *History of Morgan's Cavalry*. The Indianapolis, Madison, New Albany and Cincinnati newspapers give one a good idea of the wild confusion of the time. Morgan's forces were variously estimated at from 5,000 to 16,000 men.

Since the chapter was written Judge Louis B. Ewbank has written an excellent account of this raid. *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, Vol. VII, No. 2.

¹² For a good resume of this sentiment and expressions from twenty-four counties in all sections of the State, see Terrell's *Reports*, I, 299, seq. For the other side of the question, see *Report and Evidence of the Committee on Arbitrary Arrests in the State of Indiana*. This committee of eleven, headed by Jason Brown, was appointed by the speaker of the house in response to a resolution of Jan. 9, 1863.

degree in both ends of the state. The Democratic party was stronger in southern Indiana and consequently there was more criticism of the administration there, but the old Jacksonian Democracy stood firm for the union.¹⁰ Acts of violence fall under four general classes, resistance to the Draft, attacks on newspapers, political demonstrations and premeditated acts planned by secret organizations.

The resistance to the Draft was pretty well distributed over the state. In general it was most violent in sections distant from the railroads and large towns. Violence was reported from thirty or forty counties. In several places enrollment papers were seized and destroyed, necessitating a new enrollment and some enrolling officers were killed. Many

¹⁰ Commercial relations played an important part in the attitude of southern Indiana at the outbreak of the war. The commerce of this section, which was extensive, was all with the south. Business men in Lawrenceburg, Aurora, Vevay, Madison, New Albany and Cannelton lost hundreds of thousands of dollars. Louisville was the center of an increasing trade from the lower Ohio. Not less than a score of cotton mills had been planned along the river to compete with New England mills. At Cannelton, Louisville capital had erected a magnificent stone mill, opened mines and were just getting a promising business started. Cannelton, January 1, 1861, resolved that if an international boundary line had to be made that it be north of that city. Yet these men were not for that reason disloyal. They wanted no such boundary line anywhere, and their later record is as good as that of any section of the state. The draft of 1862 did not touch the county and that of 1864 took only 81 men. At the time the resolution was passed both the *New York Tribune* and the *Indianapolis Journal* advocated peaceful secession, and the government at Washington under Buchanan was paralyzed. The incident merely illustrates the general state of weakness, fright and uncertainty in which the country found itself in the winter of 1860-61.

of these acts were nothing other than premeditated murder, for personal revenge."

Printing presses in Rockport, Vincennes, Terre Haute, Franklin, Richmond, and other places were wrecked. Newspapers, whose real editors were at the front, were left in the hands of brainless demagogues who sooner or later attracted the wrath of the communities upon them. As the war dragged on the civil power became weaker. Martial law and its customary associate prevailed more widely. There seems to have been no concert in this violence except in the case of the Knights of the Golden Circle.

§ 136 THE GOLDEN CIRCLE

The organization and ramifications of this mysterious society were pretty definitely proven by the governor of Indiana and the federal secret service. The society began to manifest itself throughout the northwest and southwest in 1862. For its inspiration it seemed to go back to the ancient dream of making a second Roman republic around a second Mediterranean sea. All the country bordering on the Gulf of Mexico was to be organized into one vast empire based on cotton and slavery. How widely this vision was held does not appear but it was held by the William S. Walker and Lopez filibusterers

¹⁷ For a long list of these crimes, see *Mem.* by Ray Reynolds, "Resistance to the Draft in Indiana." The *Indianapolis Sentinel*, *Journal*, *Madison Courier*, *New Albany Ledger* and other papers of the state gave endless details. Terrell's *Reports*, I, 228, has a good account. Fletcher Freeman, Sullivan county; J. Frank Stevens, in Rush county; Eli McCarty, in Daviess county, enrolling officers, were shot from ambush by unknown assassins. The report of Gen. Henry Jordan on the activities of the Knights in Crawford county shows the customary deeds of these criminals. Terrell's *Reports*, I, 280.

preceding the Civil war Chivalry was to be its uniting sentiment; and Knights of the Golden Circle was its name, although it was known by a half dozen other quixotic names.¹⁴ There seem to have been members of it in Indiana and even Mexico before the war. An intricate organization of "Castles," "Outer" and "Inner Temples," "Knights of the Iron Hand," "Knights of the True Faith," "Knights of the Columbian Star" and others with equally fantastic names had been partially perfected. It contemplated the conquest of Mexico and perhaps the division of the United States. Such a medieval fancy, it is evident now, could never have been carried out in the nineteenth century, but the rise of the Civil war brought it into unmerited prominence. In the election of 1860 these knights supported Breckinridge. From correspondence it seems quite a number of Indiana men belonged to "Castles" in Kentucky, and that perhaps 500 members belonged to "Castles" on the north side of the Ohio in Indiana and Illinois.

These men were, of course, violently opposed to the war, especially after the war involved the destruction of slavery. How far this society accounts for the opposition to the Emancipation Proclamation in Indiana can not be ascertained.

¹⁴ The following explanation is given by P. C. Wright, who organized it in Indiana. "In examining the papers of General Gaines, he came across what purported to be a secret organization that existed during the Revolutionary war. He told me that General Lee was president of the association, as appeared from the papers; that Madison, Jefferson, and, I believe, Washington, had belonged to it, that it had exerted a very powerful agency in maintaining the contest during the war, and establishing our present form of government, that he thought he would establish a similar order." *Treason Trials at Indianapolis*, 88.

During 1861 and the early part of 1862 the knights were not active. It seemed at that time the South would be speedily conquered. However, with the returning power of the South toward the close of 1862 the "Circles" seem to have become active. It was at this time the historic order in the northwest sprang up. In 1863 it became threatening and in 1864 it was so active that the government was compelled to take it in charge. In Missouri under Gen. Sterling Price it became the "Southern League" or "Corps de Belgique." In New York, Ohio and elsewhere it was known as the "Order of American Knights." In Indiana the lodges were called "Sons of Liberty," "Order of American Knights," "Stars," "Peace Organizations" and by various other titles.

Everywhere the organizations were similar. In the numerous rituals confiscated by United States officers there were "Supreme Councils," "Grand Councils," and "County Parent Temples" above the individual lodges.¹⁰ Its pompous ritual is of little interest historically except that part which trained a military force and bound it to the lodge with treasonable vows. P. C. Wright, of New York, New Orleans and St. Louis, was first supreme commander. After he was arrested his place was filled by C. L. Vallandigham of Ohio. Robert Holloway, of Illinois, was deputy supreme commander and succeeded Vallandigham when the latter was expelled from the United States.

In Indiana the grand commander of the state was Harrison H. Dodd, of Indianapolis; deputy grand commander was Horace Heffren, editor of the *Salem Democrat*, member of the General Assembly and a

¹⁰ These rituals are given in *Treason Trials*, 295, seq.

prominent Democratic politician; William M. Harrison was grand secretary; the major generals of the order were Col. W. A. Bowles, of French Lick, formerly colonel of the Second Indiana in the Mexican war; John C. Walker, of LaPorte, L. P. Milligan, of Huntington county, and Andrew Humphreys, of Greene county. These men, except Heffren, were elected at the state council, held at Indianapolis in November, 1863. Dr. James S. Athon, secretary of state, Joseph Ristine, state auditor, J. J. Bingham, editor of the *Sentinel*, M. C. Kerr of New Albany, and D. W. Voorhees, of Terre Haute, were among the influential members.

As noted above the order became active in Indiana in 1863, especially before the victories of Gettysburg and Vicksburg. There were perhaps 50,000 members then, though it is doubtful if many of these were aware of the treasonable nature of the order. In March, 1863, Gen. Henry B. Carrington was placed in charge of the military district of which Indiana was a part. He was well acquainted with the situation and had been assigned to the station largely to please Governor Morton. He at once began to ferret out the activities of the order.

The serio-comic incident known as the battle of Pogue's Run doubtless aroused the state and federal authorities to action on the matter. On the 20th of May, 1863, Seymour, Vallandigham, Hendricks, McDonald and others were billed to address a monster mass meeting of Democrats on the state house lawn at Indianapolis. Governor Morton, as well as Gen. Milo Hascall, in charge of the district, had detailed information of the plan of the meeting. General Hascall prepared for the meeting by arming and drilling irregular troops then at the capital. These, under command of Col. John Coburn, were stationed at advantageous points of the city with

instructions for any emergency. The mass meeting was widely advertised, special trains were arranged from many parts of the state and nothing had been left undone to insure a crowd. However, the leaders had misgivings about the program. Governor Seymour, of New York, and Congressman Samuel S. Cox, of Ohio, felt more comfortable at home and remained there. George H. Pendleton, an Ohio congressman, could not be located, although some thought him in Indianapolis at the time. Vallandigham, also a congressman from Ohio, having been jailed by a federal marshal, was excusable in his absence. This left the burden of the oratory on Daniel Voorhees, then a congressman from Indiana, and Thomas A. Hendricks, United States senator from Indiana. The former had drawn a discouraging picture of the political situation in the opening remarks,²⁰ resolutions had been prepared, and Hendricks was speaking when a squad of blue-coated soldiers with bayonets fixed and rifles cocked, approached the speaker's stand from the Circle. Whether it was a preconcerted scheme or not, a dozen or so cavalymen came up Tennessee street at a gallop. The crowd broke up in angry disorder. The soldiers were ordered back by Col. John Coburn and the whole affair passed by without a collision. After the meeting adjourned there was considerable disorder on the streets. Vociferous knights to the number of forty were haled to police headquarters and relieved of their pistols. Others who condemned Lincoln and Morton too loudly were manhandled by

²⁰ Foulke's *Life of Morton*, 274. "Confusion and disorder darken the sky, the very earth is laden with the sorrow of our people, the voice of woe comes up from every portion of our distracted country; the angel of death has spread his wings on the blast, and there has been no sacred blood sprinkled upon the door-posts of our homes to stay the hand of the destroyer."

the soldiers who mingled with the crowd in spite of orders to remain away.

As the evening trains were loading and slowly pulling out of the Indianapolis union station there was an increasing amount of revolver firing. As the Indiana Central for the peaceful city of Richmond came to New Jersey street it was confronted by a cannon and came to a stop. A policeman collected about 200 revolvers from the passengers. The Cincinnati and Peru trains were likewise held up and searched. In all about 1,000 revolvers were taken. Many of the courageous gentlemen, as soon as they saw what was going on, generously handed their pistols to the women, on one of whom were found seven. The Cincinnati train was stopped along the banks of Pogue's Run into which a few scores of revolvers were flung by their alarmed owners, thus giving rise to the title, "Battle of Pogue's Run." The Lafayette and Terre Haute trains left somewhat earlier and it was the fusillades from these that caused the trouble to their friends on the other trains. It was said that at least 500 shots were fired from the Terre Haute train at the Soldiers' home in the west part of Indianapolis. Thanks to the coolness and cowardice of the actors no one was hurt during the whole day.

Little can be said of the courtesy or good sense of those who planned the meeting or of those who stood between the ragged battle flags of the Seventh and Thirteenth regiments and denounced them and their country. The Seventh had fought at Chancellorsville two weeks before and was to fight at Gettysburg six weeks later, while the Thirteenth was down on the South Carolina coast trying to close Charleston harbor.²¹

²¹ Both the *Indianapolis Journal and Sentinel*, May 21, 1862.

Felix Stidger, a facile Kentuckian, had been detailed by General Carrington to keep the government posted on the activities of the Knights of the Golden Circle. He became a leading knight, secured not only all the secrets of the officers of the Circle, but the rituals, constitutions and proceedings of the order both in Kentucky and Indiana and then disclosed them to General Carrington and Governor Morton.

The resuscitation of the order in Indiana seems to have been due to the efforts of either Col. W. A.

give detailed accounts of this affair. "The military commander had taken alarm, or had thought that some precautionary means were necessary, and early in the morning the troops at the various camps were placed on duty. A regiment of infantry in full marching order was posted in the Governor's Circle, and two pieces of artillery were placed to sweep the streets leading to it. A twelve-pounder was placed opposite the headquarters, so as to rake Virginia avenue, and a company of soldiers stacked arms at the point where that thoroughfare debouches into Washington street. Another company stacked arms at the junction south of Delaware and Washington streets. It is needless to say that no person was suffered to pass these points without special permission. A section of a battery, with an infantry support, was placed at the new Arsenal east of the city, and two guns were placed ranging on the speakers' stand at the State House, supported by a squadron of cavalry, concealed by the buildings." *Sentinel*, May 21.

"Considering the numbers present upon the occasion—and it was without doubt the largest political convention ever assembled in the capital—a more orderly quiet and peaceable body of men never met together. They were the solid men of Indiana; and they assembled for no other purpose than to consult upon the perilous condition of the country. Of course, in so large an assemblage, it was to be expected that there would be some indiscreet men, but none who were 'desperadoes armed for any sort of mischief they could find to do,' as the *Journal* maliciously charges. We never saw so large a body of men together who made greater effort to avoid giving any offense to their political opponents and there would have been no disturbance worthy of note, if it had not been for outside interruptions."—*Sentinel*, May 22.

Bowles or H. H. Dodd. Either at their solicitation or on his own account P. C. Wright, supreme commander, came to Indiana in August, 1863. At Terre Haute, August 27, a grand council of the state was organized by Wright. Delana B. Eccles, H. H. Dodd, Dr. Bowles, David T. Yeakle, John G. Davis, William M. Harrison and others were initiated, taking the three degrees. On the tenth of the following month the grand council met at Indianapolis, in their own hall. Dodd presided but Wright initiated the new members.

This council divided the state into four military districts corresponding to the four quarters of the state. Over each district was to be a major general who was empowered to select his brigadiers and colonels. Each county, in general, was to maintain a regiment and each township a company. The military members of the order were to go into regular training while the other members were merely to arm themselves. At the grand council meeting, February 16 and 17, 1864, held in Indianapolis, details of this military scheme were completed.

Delegates to the meetings of the supreme councils to be held at New York were chosen by the Indiana council. John G. Davis, a former congressman from Indiana, and D. B. Eccles were chosen for the Chicago meeting to be held in September, 1863. Perhaps Dodd and Bowles represented the state at the New York meeting. It was at these national meetings that the plan was prepared to overturn the state governments of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, release the confederate prisoners at Columbus, Indianapolis, Chicago and Rock Island, seize the governments and launch the famous Northwestern confederacy in close alliance and sympathy with its sister of the south.

At the first meeting of the grand council of Indiana a system of state organizations was perfected. Each county was to have a "temple" presided over by the grand seignor, a member of the state "grand council," who was to organize at least one subordinate lodge in each township. The county members as a rule were not acquainted with the state organization and its military program. The great majority of the county members took only what was known as the "vestibule" oath or "neophyte lesson." These were not knights and never became so unless "found worthy."¹¹ At the meeting, September 10, about thirty counties were represented, situated in all parts of the state. At the last meeting of the grand council, held at Indianapolis, June 14, 1864, there were forty-five counties organized with a military force variously estimated from 15,000 to 20,000.¹²

As soon as the supreme council had developed the scheme for a Northwestern confederacy Grand Commander Dodd began to organize Indiana for revolt. A large part of the details of this fell to Dr. Bowles as senior major general. A report on arms

¹¹ The following clauses are from this oath: "That I will never speak of, nor intimate any purpose or purposes of this order, whether contemplated or determined, to any one except to a brother of this order, whom I know to be such. * * * That I will never pronounce the name of this order in the hearing of any man, woman or child, except to a brother of this order, whom I know to be such. * * * I will, at all times, if needs be, take up arms in the cause of all the oppressed—in my country, first of all—against any Monarch, Prince, Potentate, Power or Government usurped, which may be found in arms and waging war against a people or peoples who are endeavoring to establish or have inaugurated, a government for themselves of their own free choice, in accordance with and founded upon, the eternal principles of Truth!" *Treason Trials*, 200.

¹² Grand Secretary William M. Harrison gave 18,000 as his estimate. *Treason Trials*, 87. This did not include vestibule members.

was called for and made by the counties. How many arms this report showed does not appear but from an inspection of shipping bills, General Carrington estimated that during the two months, February and March, 1864, near 30,000 guns and revolvers were brought into the state. J. B. Wilson, of Salem, adjutant general of the organization, is credited with saying that \$500,000 had been appropriated to the state for the purchase of arms. John C. Walker, who spent a great deal of his time in the east, and who was a major general of the order, seems to have been active in procuring arms. As fast as secured, arms, variously disguised as "hardware," "pick axes," "Sunday school books," "nails," or "household goods," were shipped into the state, those to Indianapolis going to J. J. Parson, and stored in Dodd's printing office.

How far the Golden Circle controlled events, or how far it merely took advantage of opportunities can not be told with certainty, but in the beginning of 1864 Jefferson Davis appointed peace commissioners to meet with agents of the United States in Canada. At this time the details of the Northwestern revolution were discussed and agreed upon. At about the same time Dr. Bowles had sent agents, one to Gen. Sterling Price in Missouri, the other, to Richmond to urge invasions of Missouri and Kentucky respectively. Communications with Kentucky bushwhackers were intimated in the evidence given at the trials to the effect that some 3,000 of these would quietly cross the Ohio, one by one, and terrorize southern Indiana, especially during the approaching election.

A Dutch chemist was busily experimenting with all kinds of explosives and a certain "Greek fire" by which some steamers on the river had been burned and which seemed to open up great possi-

bilities of further destruction." Dr. Bowles had prepared, or was about to prepare, a regiment or some companies armed as the Mexicans were at Buena Vista with deadly lances provided with hooks to cut bridle reins with.²⁴ The first date agreed upon for the uprising seems to have been July 20, 1864, but it was soon ascertained that that date was too early and August 16 was substituted.

The order was composed entirely of Democrats and nearly all its activities were concealed under the cloak of that organization. The lodges were popularly referred to by the members as Democratic reading rooms. In the famous fiasco at Chicago, August 29-31, most of the participants from Indiana

²⁴ *Treason Trials*, 22. "Their occupation on Sunday, during the time they were here, was down in the basement of a building, testing their Greek fire. They had a chemist there whom Bowles said he had known for some time, and that now they had nearly brought this Greek fire to perfection," p. 132. "For the purpose of destroying government property. The Greek fire, he said, had been improved, and was much better than that used before. It was to be so arranged that a person could take a viol, walk along a building, and throw it down, and it could be so prepared in regard to its strength as to take fire after three or four, or more hours; and neither vinegar, water nor molasses would put it out. I was told by Borking, when in prison, how it was made; he said it was bi-sulphate of carbon and phosphorus."

²⁵ *Treason Trials*, 128. "The first I knew of it was from Dr. Wilson telling me that Bowles had made an arrangement to have nine companies of infantry, one of lancers, and one section of artillery, to comprise each regiment in this order. The lancers were to be armed with lances, of what length I do not know, but there was to be a hook, somewhat after the fashion of a sickle, the lance to punch with, and a sickle to cut the horse's bridle; there was to be a thrust and a cut, a thrust for the man, and a cut for the horse's bridle; he thought the enemy would become confused and distracted, and if a charge was made upon them when they had no means of controlling the horses, they would be easily mowed up."

were delegates to the convention." Grand Commander Dodd and his secret committee of thirteen now sought out J. J. Bingham, state chairman of the Democratic party and editor of the *Indianapolis Sentinel*, as a member of the grand council of the Sons of Liberty and proposed that a mass meeting of Democrats be called for Indianapolis for that date, August 16." When Bingham refused to do this Dodd asked that he use his influence with W. H. Talbot of the Democratic congressional committee to have him call a meeting. From his conduct it seems Dodd had sent out the order for the revolution on that date, for he next sought out Judge David E. McDonald in order to enlist his influence.

While this matter was agitating the leaders of the party at Indianapolis, Michael C. Kerr, of New Albany, arrived, considerably excited over the situation. He reported great concern among the people of Washington, Harrison and Floyd counties over some impending calamity." On August 17 and 20

" *Treason Trials*, 125. "Q. Of what political faith were the majority of the men comprising that organization? A. They were all Democrats. Q. State whether any other class of men were admitted, or was it a *sine qua non* that a man must be a Democrat? A. I do not think any one would have got in unless he professed to be a Democrat." P. 216. "Let me speak plain—our political affinity is unquestionably with the Democratic party, and if that organization goes boldly to the work, standing firmly upon its time-honored principles, maintaining uncollected its integrity, it is safe to presume that it will receive the moral and physical support of this wide extended association."

" "I asked 'how is this revolution to take place, and nobody know anything about it?' As to the way in which it was to be done here, and at Louisville, he made a suggestion to me, as I was chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, which was that I should call a mass meeting of the Democracy on the 16th of August." *Treason Trials*, 101.

" "As I walked down Washington street I saw a gentleman coming up rapidly, and I stopped him: 'Halloo! Kerr, what has

shipments of arms and ammunition were intercepted by the authorities at Indianapolis and on the last of August, Dodd was placed in jail by order of Gen. A. P. Hovey, then in command of the federal district. A court martial was instituted and on September 22, the trial began. As a special favor Dodd had been imprisoned in a room of the postoffice building from which, just before daylight on the morning of October 7, he escaped. Both political parties at least were glad of his escape.

J. J. Bingham, of Indianapolis, W. A. Bowles, of French Lick, Andrew Humphreys, of Bloomfield, Horace Heffren of Salem, Lambden P. Milligan of Huntington and Stephen Horsey of Shoals had been arrested in the meantime. The trial of these men was continued after the flight of Dodd, though there was perhaps no intention of serious punishment after his flight. Four of the conspirators, Bingham, Wilson, Heffren and Humphreys, were permitted to turn state's evidence. It was the principal purpose, it seems, on the part of General Hovey and Governor Morton to convince the public of the infamy of the society and in this they succeeded. Bowles, Milligan and Horsey were sentenced to death and Humphreys sentenced to life imprisonment. At the intercession of the governor, President Johnson pardoned them, though the governor found it quite as hard to obtain their pardon as it had been their conviction. The

brought you here" I said. He seemed very much excited. "Do you know anything?" he said, and I said, "Do you know anything?" "Yes," he replied. "What is it?" said I. He then said, "The devil's to pay in our section of the State; the people of Washington, Harrison and Floyd counties and that neighborhood had got the idea that a revolution was impending; the farmers were frightened, and were selling their hay in the fields and their wheat in the stacks, and all the property that could be was being converted into greenbacks." *Treason Trials*, 101.

supreme court later held that the court martial was without jurisdiction, but its verdict had long before accomplished its purpose in exposing the traitors.

This closed the career of the famous order. Nothing can be said in favor of it. As a declaration of principles it was fifty years too late; as an economic organization it was brute force against right, the highwayman's creed on which slavery and feudalism had been tried and failed.* Its politics was a system based on revolution, decentralization and final anarchy. It inculcated no system of morality, although its pompous ritual contained a great many high-sounding phrases intended to mislead the thoughtless. One of its purposes was to end a civil war by means of insurrection. Specifically, it encouraged desertion from the army, both directly and indirectly, tampering with courts and public officers to accomplish this purpose. It offered every possible opposition to enlistment from the plea of the pacifist to the assassination of draft officers. It

* *Ferrell's Report*, I, 204. One of the best statements concerning the character of this conspiracy is by Senator Joseph E. McDonald, in discussing his last meeting with President Lincoln. This interview is given in the *Indianapolis Journal*, June 22, 1861. McDonald helped carry the case through the supreme court, which held the trial illegal. The senator's peroration before the court is a beautiful statement of the effect of the war. "Wounds there are to be healed, but none that time and patient forbearance will not cure. It may now be said with equal truth that the constitution is on trial and that the earnest hope of all who desire the perpetuity of civil liberty is that it, too, may have a safe deliverance. When that trial shall be ended, may the pillars of that fabric of wisdom be all found in their proper places, and while the government has been found strong enough to strike down the weightiest rebellion that ever lifted its head against a nation, may the constitution be found with sufficient strength to protect the humblest citizen in all the land in every right guaranteed to him."

scattered broadcast over the country disloyal literature, poisoning the minds of the people and causing social discord. In the minutes of one of its "temples" one reads of men appointed to murder their neighbors, of others whose duties included the burning of barns.

Although it was scattered over the state broadcast it was not inherently dangerous." The courage and brains of the state were both devoted to its service and only the cowardly and the mercenary were engaged in the "temples." It suited their charac-

* The following section is from the grand secretary's report, Feb. 17, 1864. "In compliance with the resolution adopted by this body, I beg leave to submit the following report, showing the number of counties in the state that are organized, the number in process of organization, and the number of members in the organization, so far as I have received their reports.

Reports have been received from but seventeen counties. We have organized in the State forty-one counties, and have in process of organization ten additional counties, leaving the number of counties yet to report their membership thirty-four.

Judging from the reports received, I place the membership in the state, at this time, at least 12,000, not including the membership in the other organizations in the state that work conjointly with us. The following is a summary of the reports received: Grant county reports 201 members and 6 branches; Clay, 194 members and 3 branches; Blackford, 80 members and no branches; DeKalb, 84 members and no branches; Harrison, 615 members and 11 branches; Marshall, 30 members and no branches; Washington, 1,100 members and 10 branches; Allen, 40 members and no branches; Brown, 322 members and 4 branches; Wells, 81 members and no branches; Vigo, 500 members and 6 branches; Fountain, 373 members and 10 branches; Sullivan, 600 members and 10 branches; Parke, 523 members and 7 branches; Marion, 75 members and 1 branch; Vermilion, 128 members and 3 branches; Vanderburgh, 200 members and no branches. Showing a total membership in the counties reporting of 5,053.

The above report does not include those counties from which have been received intelligence, unofficially, of their organization, which would, perhaps, increase the number of counties organized and in process of organization to sixty-one."

ter to domineer over the dependent women and children whose protectors were in the army. It is doubtful if Governor Morton was ever seriously alarmed at their plots and certainly history has paid the poltroons entirely too much attention.²¹

§ 137 SOLDIERS' RELIEF

The national government had neither the organization nor the means to take care of its army when it was called into the field. The first Indiana regiments went into the mountains of West Virginia in summer garb believing that the war would be over before cold weather. In August they were calling for overcoats and blankets. Governor Morton, then in Washington, August 20, 1861, asked the United States quartermaster, stationed at Indianapolis, to procure the coats. This demand failing, the govern-

²¹ The best authority for this study has been Mayo Freder, "Secret Political Societies in the North During the War," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XIV, 183-205. The *Indianapolis Journal* took great delight in making a bogey out of the Golden Circle. It published every evidence it could get, including letters of many of its leading men, confiscated by Generals Carrington and Hovey, rituals, constitutions, and addresses. *Indiana Treason Trials*, 1865, contains all the proceedings of the trial at Indianapolis, including the testimony, rituals, argument of counsel, and the Judge Advocate's report. Terrell's *Report*, I, 293, seq. William Dudley Foulke, *Life of Morton*, I, chs. 27, 28, 29 and 30, gives the most satisfactory historical account. In the official reports of Generals Carrington and Hovey is the best documentary material. The *Indianapolis Sentinel*, whose editor was arrested and turned State's evidence, gives the best possible explanation of a bad situation. The *Cincinnati Gazette* also has valuable accounts. The files of the *Southern Strasser* are reminiscential accounts and valuable documents. Some of General Carrington's reports are printed in a campaign document of 1864, entitled *Treason in Indiana Exposed*. In a similar pamphlet of 1865, entitled *Treason Exposed*, are letters and resolutions of leading Democrats and county conventions.

or next applied to the quartermaster at Cincinnati who placed an order for 4,000. By the personal effort of two agents dispatched by the governor these coats were delivered, October 7. Impatient at such delay the governor ordered the state agent at New York to buy 20,000 overcoats for Indiana soldiers and deliver them as soon as possible.

This experience proved two things to the people of Indiana. First, that the United States government could not get material to supply the extraordinary needs of the men at the front; and second, that it had not the organizations for speedy delivery even if it had the supplies.

October 10, 1861, the governor by proclamation appealed to the women of Indiana to take up the work of supplying the Indiana soldiers with such necessities as would make them comfortable and keep them in health. Woollen socks, gloves, blankets, shirts and drawers were called for. Many of the volunteers, a large majority of them, accustomed to homespun for winter wear, found government shoddy a meager substitute. Blankets could not be procured on the market; it was therefore necessary that the family loom be put in commission. "An hour a day for a week" will provide the supply, thought the governor.²² The state quartermaster general, in his report at the close of the first winter, testified to the ample response.²³

²² Terrell's Reports, I, 318. The proclamation closed with "The women of Indiana alone can meet the emergency."

²³ Terrell's Reports, I, 319. "So liberal were these contributions that I deemed it necessary in the latter part of the winter to issue a circular to the effect that the supply was sufficient, except of mittens and socks. That deficiency, too, was so far supplied that all subsequent applications for the articles, with the exception of only two or three, were filled. The generosity of

The experience of the first winter pointed out to the governor that a permanent organization was necessary. The establishment of the General Indiana Military Agency under the leadership of Dr. William Hannaman was the result. This agency organized a body of local agents who visited all parts of the state to explain and encourage the work. A central depot was established in each county where supplies were collected to be distributed by the state agency. Men, women and children brought their contributions here that they might be forwarded free to the soldiers. Persons making contributions might specify that they be sent to certain individual soldiers, certain companies or just consigned to the agency to be sent where needed. The pity of war is nowhere so well expressed as in the records of this work. Women, who had worked in the fields all day, spun, knit and wove late into the night, children planted extra rows of onions, cucumbers or potatoes, raised chickens, dried apples and peaches, made jams and jellies, that brothers, fathers or friends might, in camp, have something of the luxuries they had been accustomed to at home.* Every organization of the state (except the Knights of the Golden Cir-

our citizens in this regard has added very greatly to the comfort of our troops in the field and camp, and very probably has saved many valuable lives."

* *Terrell's Reports*, I, 323. "It may not be uninteresting to give here, as an indication of the character of the work performed by these societies, a list of articles distributed by one of the agencies. Potatoes, dried apples, canned fruits, onions, kraut, pickles, dried peaches, wine, cordials, whiskey, eggs, butter, apple-butter, small fruits, lemons, ale, crackers, rice, farina, cornmeal, tobacco, paper, envelopes, bed-mats, comforts, quilts, sheets, pillows, pillow-slips, towels, shirts, drawers, rags, bandages, fans, pantaloons, combs, handkerchiefs, socks, lint, pads, comfort bags, slippers, boxes of reading matter, gowns, crutches. There is hardly one of these articles that would not be either an indle-

cle) from Sunday school classes of eight year olds to the gray haired grannies with their clay pipes, collected around the fireplaces on cold winter evenings, were willing volunteers. Odd Fellows and Freemasons joined in the work, the latter order at one time donating \$10,000. The churches became relief organizations and many of the preachers from their pulpits regularly denounced the rebellion.³⁰ All told there were collected in the state supplies and money for this purpose amounting to over \$5,000,000.

The distribution of these supplies can not be followed in any detail. They went to almost every camp, battlefield and hospital where Union soldiers were located. They went by boatloads and by trainloads.³¹ While these supplies were primarily for Indiana troops, no soldier in need was ever passed and hospitals were supplied entirely without distinction. At least one hundred Indiana women served continually as nurses in the hospitals and a corps of surgeons and nurses were rushed to the field after each great battle.

Soldiers' homes were provided at Indianapolis where not only soldiers on their way to or from war might stay, but where wives of soldiers in camp might find a home while on a visit.

At places such as Jeffersonville, Richmond, Indianapolis and elsewhere, provisions were made by the women for feeding returning troops. Great celebrations were arranged for the old regiments returning

penable necessity, or an acceptable addition, to the comfort of any sick man, and it would be hard to conceive the suffering, and fatality even, that they have alleviated or prevented."

³⁰ Terrell's Reports, I, 354.

³¹ Terrell's Reports, I, 328. "The steamer 'City Belle,' with Dr. C. J. Woods as sanitary agent in charge, left Cairo, Illinois, on the 18th of December, 1863, to supply our troops along the Mississippi river."

on veteran furlough. Regiments from other states passing through received the same cordial reception. State agents went continually among the troops in camp or on the march with power and instructions from the governor to attend to every want of the soldiers if alive and bury them if dead."

Indiana did well in the Civil war. Its efforts compare favorably with those of the other states for the preservation of the nation. Its total contribution in men, including 11,718 re-enlistments, was 208,367; of whom 24,416 lost their lives.²⁷

²⁷ The following from the New York Tribune, Dec. 14, 1862, is in evidence of the activity. "The peculiar and constant attention to the troops his State has sent out so promptly is the prominent feature of Governor Morton's most admirable administration. In all our armies, from Kansas to the Potomac, wherever I have met Indiana troops, I have encountered some officer of Governor Morton, going about among them, inquiring especially as to their needs, both in camp and hospital, and performing those thousand offices the soldier so often requires. Would that the same tender care could be extended to every man, from whatever State, who is fighting the battles of the Republic."

²⁸ "I remember such scenes well. What a feast they had! I carried baskets of sweet apples to the boys in long blue overcoats, and tossed the apples up to them on the top of the cars." J. A. W.

CHAPTER XXVII

RECONSTRUCTION

§ 138 ELECTION OF 1864

Politics in Indiana reached low water mark in 1863. The state government was almost in abeyance. Federal provost marshals, marshals, recruiting officers, detectives, draft officers and quartermasters, protected by the President's proclamation of September 25, 1862, which suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*, disregarded the ordinary police and judicial system of the state. Governor Morton, who was not at all careful about the prejudices of his Democratic opponents, dominated the state government in every part of the state and in every department. He had little patience with the law's delays or red tape. Never having held office until, in a great crisis, he became governor, he usually went direct to the point in his work, and, if necessary, found law and justification afterward. His acts were so plainly for the public good and so completely guarded from any charge of dishonesty that when he did transcend the law the people supported him. He was a leader in all activities that pertained to the war and the war engrossed the attentions of the people.

He was universally regarded as the soldiers' friend. When a regiment was organized he welcomed it into the service; when it departed for the front he presented it with its flag and was the last to bid it adieu. When soldiers returned they were furnished a warm free lunch as soon as they crossed the Ohio

at Jeffersonville. At Indianapolis there was a public reception and an address by the governor. He was never too busy for all these details, if soldiers were concerned. His sanitary commission agents visited every nook of the state, collecting supplies of all kinds for the soldiers in the field. Boat loads and carloads of presents went to the regiments at Christmas time. If an Indiana soldier were wronged by a pickpocket or a major general neither distance nor position could shield the wrongdoer from the governor's resentment.

Opposition has developed his naturally pungent character. Personally he was not likable as was Lincoln. He freely made personal enemies and then drove them to rage, until they talked of violence. Never ornate, witty, nor allegorical in his public address, like Henry S. Lane, Benjamin Parker or George G. Dunn, he belabored his opponents until they went down bruised and sore. He was the embodiment of the war, stalwart, blunt and soldierly. When it came to considering candidates for the governorship in 1864 the state in arms would have no one but Morton.

For the same reason that Morton was violently opposed by Democratic politicians he was not enthusiastically supported by certain rival Republican politicians. Nobody worked with him. His friends and supporters worked for him. His plans were formulated often without consultation and were not open to criticism by his friends, though expediency and public opinion were often considered.

The Democrats in 1864 were in difficulty from the start. The party had never been freed from the control of the politicians of the previous decade. Every situation was gauged by them for political

effect. The brawn and spirit of the party were in the army faithfully supporting the war and the Union. They had been humiliated by the conduct of the last General Assembly. Resolutions from Democrats in the army failed to awaken the legislators to their folly. On the other hand, the highhanded course of the governor, the mounting taxes, the overthrow of the civil courts, the increasing demands of the long war, the call after call to the army, all had produced a general feeling of weariness among the people. Thousands of loyal citizens were waiting prayerfully for the war to cease. The first levies had marched away blithely to the sound of bands and to the joyous waving of goodbyes. It had at length come to boys and middle aged men to tell mothers and wives goodbye in silence. A sullen, almost fierce, hatred of rebels and rebellion possessed the soldiers, while the fever of war slowly burned the poison of secession from the blood of the nation.

The Democratic politicians misinterpreted this feeling to be a desire to quit the fight, a friendship for the south, hatred for the Republican party.¹ Their candidate for governor, Joseph E. McDonald, went so far as to say the south was blameless in the

¹ D. W. Voorhees, in addressing his constituents, exclaimed: "I will never vote one dollar, one man, or one gun to the administration of Abraham Lincoln to make war on the South." David H. Colerick, of Fort Wayne, at the Democratic state convention, July 12, 1864, said: "Nine hundred and ninety-nine of every thousand whom I represent breathe no other prayer than to have an end of this bellicose war. When news of our victories comes, there is no rejoicing. When news of our defeat comes, there is no sorrow. There is a feeling which tells of an intense desire for peace, and we ask that some resolution be passed that is in unison with the prayers of the heart of the Democracy of the country, that this horrible and bloody war must cease." This was, of course, untrue.

struggle,' their state platform expressed cordial sympathy for the Blue Grass Democracy which, less than a month before, had again welcomed General Morgan to Lexington, threatening a second raid into Indiana, to avoid which the Forty-third Indiana, coming home from Arkansas on veteran furlough, had had to forego their first visit home in three years to help drive him out. Notwithstanding this great tactical mistake the Democrats still had an even fighting chance. The enlisted soldiers, perhaps 75,000 strong, could not return home to vote. Whatever their politics a large majority of them would have voted for Lincoln and Morton. To those who remained at home the Democratic stand for immediate peace at any price made a strong appeal.

The Republicans, hoping to secure the cooperation of the war Democrats, called their party the Union party. They met at Indianapolis, February 22 and 23, in state convention, Ex-Governor Wright

Indianapolis Sentinel, July 13, 1864 "I shall never believe but what this great calamity might have been avoided if one-tenth part of the forbearance exercised by the framers of this government had been indulged in by the party which came into power by the election of Mr Lincoln, and when I think of the terrible responsibility, which must at some time rest on the authors of this great national crime, I feel grateful to be able to know that it does not rest on me or those who are of the same political faith with me.

"To this War as prosecuted under the ideas and policies of the Abolition majority which rules the present administration, I say I am utterly opposed. I believe it is entailing upon the country unmix'd evil, and would be false to my country and my countrymen if I did not say so."

The ninth plank of the platform read as follows: "We cordially sympathize with the Democracy of Kentucky in their present subjugated condition, deprived of the rights of free men, and we will stand by them in a manly and lawful struggle to recover constitutional liberty."

presiding. A large number of Democrats were in attendance. Lincoln was endorsed, Morton was nominated for governor and a platform supporting a vigorous prosecution of the war was adopted.¹ The Democrats met at the same place, July 12, to nominate their ticket. Joseph E. McDonald was nominated for governor over Lambden P. Milligan, of Huntington, on a platform denouncing Morton's administration and declaring for an "early and honorable" peace.²

The campaign was waged on the question of support for the war. The two candidates, as was customary, stumped the state together. The Democrats denounced Morton as a tyrant while Morton denounced the Democratic candidates as traitors, most of them being members of the Knights of the Golden Circle, whose leader, H. H. Dodd, a prominent politician, was arrested during the canvass, broke jail and fled to Canada.³ The Republicans were considerably alarmed over a rumor that 3,000 members of the Golden Circle were to cross over from Kentucky and terrorize the elections in southern Indiana.⁴ As an offset to this, Governor Morton tried to have large numbers of the army sent home to vote. This was found to be impracticable on account of the campaign then on requiring every available man at the front.

The state election, held October 11, resulted in a victory for the Republican or Union ticket by 20,883

¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Feb. 24, 1864.

² *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 13, 1864.

³ For a sample of Republican campaign literature, see pamphlets, *Treason Exposed*, 1864. One of these pamphlets is made up of treasonable letters by prominent Democratic candidates; the other is an ordinary campaign document. For a sample of the Democratic, see *Address to the Democracy of Indiana*, 1864.

⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 9, 1864.

majority. The returns came in slowly. Not until the 17th was the Republican victory conceded and not until October 31, did the official vote appear in the *Sentinel*. The Republicans had elected eight of the eleven congressmen and the election of Voorhees, Democrat, in the Seventh district, was successfully contested. The Democrats had little hope of carrying Indiana for General McClellan after the state election. The Treason Trials at Indianapolis, then going on, made any aggressive battle by the Democrats impossible. The national election showed a majority for Lincoln of 20,199.* With the Republicans in power in state and nation and the end of the war in sight there came a breathing spell in politics.

§ 139 REORGANIZATION

The General Assembly which convened, January 5, 1865, had abundant and difficult work to perform. The previous Assembly had failed and there had arisen confusion in the administration. One of the first questions to come up was a petition from the Morgan raid sufferers asking payment for property lost. Although a bill for this purpose was introduced early in the session it was found impossible to pass it. It was brought up again during the special session following and again failed to reach a final vote. Governors Morton and Baker both recommended a commission to ascertain the damage and the Assembly, March 11, 1867, authorized a commission on which were appointed John I. Morrison, John McCrea and Smith Vawter. After sitting as a court at Corydon for some time following July 10, 1867, it reported to the governor, December 18, 1867, that the sum of \$82,286.21 would be needed to settle for prop-

* *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Nov. 30, 1864.

erty appropriated by the Union forces. The committee on claims reported that this damage should be paid by the federal government. A joint resolution was voted, accordingly, by the Assembly of 1879 asking the federal government to assume the claim.⁷

The preceding Assembly, 1863, had wasted a large amount of its time in fruitless investigations of the governor's numerous military activities. A blanket law was enacted by the Assembly of 1865 which approved all his acts.⁸ Another law appropriated \$135,000 to repay the money the governor had borrowed from counties, railroad companies, and individuals to support the benevolent institutions.⁹ Another measure in which the governor was personally interested and his honor involved, authorized the state treasurer to repay Winslow, Lanier & Co., of New York, the money borrowed by Morton during preceding years to pay the interest on the state debt. This amounted to more than \$640,000 with interest at seven per cent.¹⁰

The question that provoked long and partisan controversy was what to do with the negroes. The

⁷ *Laws of Indiana*, 1879, p. 251.

⁸ *Laws of Indiana*, 1865, p. 49. "That all and singular the acts of Oliver P. Morton, Governor of the State of Indiana, in the settlement of the claims of the State against the United States, for enrolling, outfitting, clothing, supplying clothing, arming, equipping, paying and transporting the troops of the State in the service of the United States, and in paying and satisfying the State's quota of the direct tax laid and levied by Congress on the sixth day of August, A. D. 1861, by the due execution of a release or releases to the United States of said claims be, and they are hereby, fully and entirely approved." See report of auditing committee, *House Journal*, 1865, pp. 219 and 462.

⁹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1865, ch. XLIX.

¹⁰ *Laws of Indiana*, 1865, ch. XXVII; *Senate Journal*, 1865, 113, and *House Journal*, 1865, 165. Opponents of this charged that Morton had no shadow of authority for making the loan.

national and local phases of this question were never kept separate. Nationally it involved the whole question of Reconstruction, which produced so much discord in congress from 1865 to 1870. The discussions in the Indiana Assemblies of this period would lead the readers of the *Journals* to think the Assembly was charged with the entire question of Reconstruction in the south.

Governor Morton had opened up this question in public addresses before the Assembly of 1865 convened. A joint resolution accepting the Thirteenth amendment was introduced early in the session and opposed by all the arts of parliamentary practice up to its passage in the senate by a vote of 26 to 24 and in the house by a vote of 56 to 29.¹¹ The opposition was along political lines, the Democrats opposing on the ground that such questions as the social status of negroes should be left entirely to the state.

The recognition of the freedom of the slaves of the south was but a gentle breeze compared with the storm caused by the proposed enfranchisement of the negroes. Here, at first, party lines could not be formed. Governor Morton was conservative, and in a speech at Richmond, September 28, 1865, tried to temper the extreme demands of the Quakers, led by George W. Julian, for immediate and full negro suffrage.¹² Morton favored a probationary and educational policy for the negroes before enfranchisement.¹³ A large part of the Republican party in Indiana at that time opposed negro suffrage but the rejection by the south of the Fourteenth amendment

¹¹ *Senate Journal*, 1865, p. 315; *House Journal*, 1865, p. 308. For the resolutions, see *Laws of Indiana*, 1865, p. 135.

¹² *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 2, 1865.

¹³ George W. Julian, *Political Recollections*, 363, seq. "The ballot for the negro was a logical necessity."

and the later extreme measures of congress gradually consolidated the party until by 1869, when the Fifteenth amendment came up for ratification, the party supported it almost solidly. In the meantime the Fourteenth amendment had been ratified by the Assembly of 1867 without a serious struggle.¹²⁷ The Fifteenth amendment was sent to the Assembly, March 1, 1869. James D. Williams, later governor, moved to postpone the "firebrand" till March 6, or until all legislative work was accomplished. This was the well-known sign of an approaching bolt. The Republicans seemed determined on forcing through the resolution adopting the amendment. Consequently after a long caucus on the night of March 3, seventeen Democratic senators and thirty-seven Democratic representatives, resigned from office. These were all the Democratic members except three senators, and six representatives, all of whom were from doubtful districts.¹²⁸ The resignations had all the effect of a popular referendum. The governor, March 5, ordered a special election for March 23 to fill the vacancies. The Democrats put the main question squarely before the people.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ *Senate Journal*, 1867, p. 86; *House Journal*, 1867, p. 184. For discussion, see *Brester Reports* on above dates.

¹²⁸ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 5, 1869.

¹²⁹ See letter, "To the People of Indiana," by Democrats in congress, and the "Address" by the resigning members. *Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 5, 1870 (quoted in *Indiana Magazine of History*, IX, 144): "If all legal and constitutional barriers and middle walls of partition between the two races are to be broken down, if our schools are to be thrown open, or our school funds, raised by white men, are to be divided with this people; and if they are to vote, and hold office, and sit as jurors.—then will our whole State be flooded by this population. If they labor, they will come in competition with, and strike down the wages of, white men and women; if they will not labor, then our pauper

The Republicans as a rule confined their campaign to denouncing the Democrats for resigning and causing trouble and expense. The Republican members also issued an "Address to the people". It contains a good historical resume of the Fifteenth amendment rather than an argument in its favor.²⁴ The result was the reelection of all the members. In fact no organized campaign seems to have been made by the Republicans. In seven senatorial and fourteen representative districts no candidates were nominated by them, the temper of the voters in those districts being well known.

The governor called an extra session for April 8, 1869. The Democrats stayed away from the state house until they secured, or thought they secured, a pledge from the Republicans that the Fifteenth amendment resolution would not be brought up, at least until all necessary legislation had been disposed of. The amendment was postponed by agreement until May 14. On the preceding day ten senators and forty-one representatives handed in their resignations. However, before the resigning members left the Assembly rooms the senate barred its doors, counted a quorum and passed the amendment. In the house the speaker ruled that a majority could pass a resolution and so the amendment resolution

asylums, jails, and penitentiaries will be filled with them. Holding these views, the only remedy left in our hands to prevent the ratification of this great iniquity was to restore to you, as the fountain head, the offices bestowed upon us, and take your opinion as to whether we have reflected your will and have stood faithfully by the trust you reposed in us. We hope, if you approve of these doctrines and actions of your representatives, that you will be willing to come out and devote our day to the establishment of principle."

²⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 8, 1869.

was passed.¹⁵ These details are given not alone for the intrinsic interest of the subject but to illustrate political methods and morals.¹⁶

The Fifteenth amendment was not the only troublesome legislation necessary on the negro question as a result of the war. The state had for many years maintained a state colonization society with a state agent. Since the negroes were now free this agency was no longer needed and consequently was abolished.¹⁷ In the special session, convened November 12, 1865, the question of the repeal of Article XIII of the state constitution forbidding free negroes from coming into the state was submitted. After two weeks of rather animated discussion the repeal resolution passed the house,¹⁸ but failed in the senate by a vote of 22 to 22.¹⁹ A like fate met a bill to provide by taxation common schools for negroes the same as for whites. The general objection was that if such favors were shown, colored people by tens of thousands would flock into the state.

A bill enabling negroes to give testimony in the courts was enacted into law, however.²⁰ The colored people themselves were becoming politically interested. They held a state convention at Indianapolis, November 9, 1865, which petitioned the voters of the state for suffrage as well as the status of citizens generally. They claimed a population of 6,051 scattered over fifteen counties, property valued at \$912,814, and that they annually paid in taxes \$28,471.

¹⁵ *Brevier Reports*, XI, 224-247. See, also, the *Indianapolis Journal and Sentinel* on these dates for opposing views.

¹⁶ The best discussion of this whole question is by W. C. Gutches, *Indiana Magazine of History*, IX, 131, seq.

¹⁷ *Laws of Indiana*, 1865, ch. XVII.

¹⁸ *House Journal, Special*, 1865, 277.

¹⁹ *Brevier Report, Special*, 1865, 164.

²⁰ *Laws of Indiana, Special*, 1865, ch. LVI.

Again in 1867 bills to provide schools for colored people were killed in the Assembly, this time in the house.

Not until the special session of 1869 was the restriction removed and colored children admitted to the common schools the same as white children.²¹ Nothing more was done toward abolishing Article XIII of the constitution until the Assemblies of 1879, regular and special, which submitted an amendment to the constitution striking out the political restrictions on colored people. This was ratified at a special election, April 5, 1880, and the last legal political disability of the colored man was removed.²² This had been one of the chief political questions at issue between the two leading parties in Indiana since 1840.

§ 140 CARE OF DEPENDENTS

The long war had caused much suffering and at its close there were many widows and orphans and crippled soldiers in destitute circumstances. Under the stress of the war, neighborhood charity, seconded here and there by county and township aid, had met all the needs of this kind, but with the return of peace more permanent conditions had to be supplied. It was confidently expected that the national government in time would take care of these victims but their need was insistent. An emergency bill was signed by the governor, March 4, 1865, levying a tax of three mills on the dollar and one dollar on the poll, the proceeds to be distributed by the governor to hospitals and by county commissioners and township trustees to destitute families.²³ This relief was to

²¹ *Laws of Indiana, Special, 1869*, ch. XVI.

²² Charles Kettleborough, *Constitution Making in Indiana*, index.

²³ *Laws of Indiana, 1865*, ch. XI.

extend only one year, after which the counties would give required aid, providing, however, that soldiers and their dependents were not to be classed as paupers.²⁴

The debt of the state to disabled soldiers and their families was recognized by all patriotic people. No one felt it just or honorable to leave these unfortunates to the precarious charity of county boards. No one was more interested than the war governor, Morton, unless it was his successor, Conrad Baker. As previously noted, during the war, Governor Morton had opened a temporary soldiers' home in Indianapolis. On May 15, 1865, he issued an address to the people asking their assistance in the establishment of a permanent home. At a state meeting in Indianapolis, May 24, 1865, a permanent organization was effected for soliciting funds. August 27, a temporary home was opened at the City Hospital building, Indianapolis. There were gathered here in a short time upwards of 200 disabled soldiers. In the spring of 1866 the park known as Knightstown Springs in Rush county was bought for \$8,500 and there the home was established, April 26, 1866. The total cost including the purchase price of the springs, \$25,560.84, had been raised by popular subscription. The general management and establishment of the home were placed in the hands of William Hannaman, in whom the people had the fullest confidence on account of his record with the state sanitary commission.

From reports to Mr. Hannaman, made by the county auditors, there were then, 1867, 2,070 orphans whose fathers had lost their lives in the war. To the shame of the state some of these were in the poor houses. All were in need of care and the governor

²⁴ *Laws of Indiana, Special, 1865, ch. VII.*

recommended that the property at Knightstown be taken by the state as a home for all those left in need by the war. If, as was then probable, the nation established soldiers' homes and took as its guests its disabled soldiers then the estate could be used entirely as a home and school for the orphans." Following the governor's recommendation the Assembly by act of March 11, 1867, authorized the purchase of the Knightstown Springs estate and established there the "Indiana Soldiers' and Seamen's Home". It was to receive the widows of disabled soldiers and sailors and their orphans under fifteen years of age. Pensions drawn by soldiers who were living at the home were to be used by the home." The home was reorganized by the law of February 15, 1867, but its general policy was not changed."

§ 141 REFORM SCHOOLS

Another subject closely allied to the one just discussed was the disposition of juvenile criminals. The subject had been a favorite one with reformers during the decade preceding the Civil war. The constitution of 1851 had commanded that "The General Assembly shall provide Houses of Refuge for the reformation and correction of juvenile offenders". On account of the fear of taxation the General Assemblies preceding the Civil war had not carried out this injunction. Juveniles, guilty of any and all kinds of derelictions were huddled into the squalid jails with experienced criminals, unless indeed, as had frequently happened under Morton's administration, the governor pardoned them to prevent it. Public sentiment was at the time weighing the relative merits of the house of refuge and the reform

* Morton's Message, *House Journal*, 1867, p. 83.

* *House Journal*, Governor's Message, 1867, p. 30.

* *Laws of Indiana*, 1867, ch. XIV.

school. Barnabas C. Hobbs and Charles F. Coffin were interested in this movement and had furnished Morton with elaborate reports on the reform schools of New York, Ohio and Illinois.²⁸ The Assembly compromised the situation by establishing a reform school and calling it a house of refuge for juvenile offenders.²⁹

The governor was authorized to appoint a governing board of three, select a site and with the board choose a superintendent. Incurable children could be placed in the institution by their parents; destitute children in danger of becoming immoral or idle, by township trustees; any one under eighteen, convicted of crime or misdemeanor, by the consent of the jury trying the case; infants charged with crime, by the grand jury hearing the charges; and finally circuit and common pleas judges might send any infant under eighteen charged with crime, after a private examination of the case. All children entering the school were to remain till of age unless sooner released by the superintendent.

The superintendent had the power to apprentice a pupil to learn a trade. The cost of maintenance was charged, half to the county whence the child came, the other half to the state, except that when parents placed their own child in the institution, they became liable for the whole cost. All children were to be taught to read, write and calculate. The first board, composed of C. F. Coffin, A. C. Downey and Joseph Orr, met, April 23, 1867, and organized the institution along the general lines it has since followed.³⁰ It became an industrial reform school

²⁸ *Senate Journal*, 1866, p. 286.

²⁹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1867, ch. LXVII.

³⁰ *Documentary Journal*, 1870-71, Pt. I, p. 146. "The State, acting the part of a cherishing mother, gathers these waifs from

in which the boys were cared for in families, each with a man in charge. The governor located the school on a farm of 225 acres near Plainsfield, where it still remains.²¹ The first superintendent was Francis B. Ainsworth, an assistant then in the Ohio reform school. A model farm with orchards, gardens, wheat, corn, meadow, live stock, bakeries, laundries, carpenter shops was soon in successful operation, with school, church choirs, bands, reading rooms and Sunday schools. The experiment proved highly satisfactory. The institution has saved thousands of children from the ragged edges of society. In 1883 it became the "Indiana Reform School for Boys" and in 1904 the "Indiana Boys' School."

The success of the house of refuge at Plainsfield encouraged those who had been for several years asking that female offenders be provided with a home. A bill to that effect was introduced by David Stewart, of Rush county, and in due time became a law.²² The only serious objection was raised by some professional politicians who objected to the \$50,000 appropriation necessary. The movement received impetus from the scandals recently revealed in the state penitentiary where sixteen women were at that time incarcerated.²³ The association for the relief of friendless women, whose manager, Mrs. Sarah Smith, addressed the senate, May 4, pushed the

the perils of vagrancy and vice, who, among loving and genial friends, and under appropriate teachers, are inspired with noble desires and worthy motives, and trained for honest toil and useful citizenship. Many a mother here finds a 'door of hope,' when all appeared lost; and many a friendless orphan finds a rescue from crime, who would otherwise only live to become the victim of our penal code."

²¹ *House Journal*, 1880, p. 43.

²² *Laws of Indiana*, 1880, ch. XXII.

²³ *Brevier Reports*, XI, 116, and 150.

measure. May 3 they presented a memorial to the senate setting forth conditions and asking that the friendless girls be given the same chance as was being given the boys at Plainsfield.²⁴

The law provided that the institution be located at, or within five miles of, Indianapolis, to be governed by a board of three appointed by the governor. The superintendent and all her assistants were to be women. The school was to be divided into two departments, reformatory and penal. The latter was for criminals beyond the age of fifteen and the former was for girls under fifteen.

The board was organized, July 23, 1869, with E. B. Martindale as president. During the course of the year building was begun on state lands east of Indianapolis but the appropriation of \$50,000 was expended before the buildings were finished. In that condition they remained until the meeting of the Assembly of 1873 when money sufficient to finish the buildings was appropriated. The institution was opened, September 6, 1873, with Mrs. Sarah J. Smith, superintendent. The buildings cost \$97,556, and furniture \$7,766. September 9, 1873, two girls were ad-

²⁴ This petition is printed in the *Indianapolis Journal*, May 4, 1869. "Most our homeless and friendless daughters who are alike waifs upon the world without a friendly counselor, constantly exposed to crime, and in the path of ruin, not so much because of any predisposing fault of their own as because parents, church and State have failed to give them sympathy, and to inspire them to seek a better and higher life, now fall to find the protecting shield of the State thrown over them? Our jails find no suitable home for those who have been so unfortunate as to be sent thither, and our courts are deterred from executing the demands of justice because the ends of the penal law cannot be reached without degrading them, and the erring are met at liberty to seek again the companionship of vice.

"All our cities and villages are waiting for the relief your timely aid can give them."

mitted to the reformatory and, October 10, following, seventeen women prisoners were transferred from Jeffersonville.

The work thus started has continued. By act of March 9, 1889, on recommendation of the board, the name was changed to the "Reform School for Girls and Woman's Prison." At that time there were 59 women in prison and 144 girls in the school. February 7, 1899, the name became the "Indiana Industrial School for Girls and the Indiana Woman's Prison." By act of March 1, 1905, the two institutions were separated and the industrial school for girls was located five miles west of Indianapolis on a beautiful tract of land."

§ 142 FEEBLE-MINDED

A large number of feeble-minded children in the state were known to be without proper care. In many families they were mistreated for exactly opposite reasons. In some places they were hidden away because the parents were ashamed; in others they were not allowed freedom because of parental affection. For many years after the state had made provision for these unfortunates to enjoy themselves as freely as they were capable, parents refused to let them go from home, fearing mistreatment.

The movement for a school for the feeble-minded had its origin in the founding of the orphans' home and the two reform schools. By act of March 15, 1879, the General Assembly established an asylum for the feeble-minded at Knightstown. The children were housed in a wing of the building occupied by the soldiers' orphans. This asylum, under the same management as the orphans' home, was opened, No-

²⁰ For information concerning this institution, see the annual reports to the governor.

vember 1, 1879. The soldiers did not take kindly to this arrangement by which the children of their dead comrades were associated with the feeble-minded. There was nothing to support the policy but shortsighted economy. The two schools remained together, however, till the act of March 7, 1887, separated them.²⁶ This act established the Indiana school for the feeble-minded youth at Fort Wayne. The school was to be composed of two departments, one industrial, where those capable might work and go to school; the other, a mere custody of those of such low grade mentally that work and study were impracticable.

There being no building in or near Fort Wayne, suitable for the home, temporary quarters were established at the eastern Indiana hospital at Richmond, in the new buildings of that institution. Meanwhile the board purchased, May 19, 1887, 54 acres of land near Fort Wayne and began the erection of buildings for a permanent home. These buildings were completed, July 8, 1890, on which date the school was removed to its permanent home. At that time there were three hundred and seventeen enrolled.²⁷

²⁶ *Laws of Indiana, 1887* ch. XXVIII. "The institution is to be divided into two distinct departments—one industrial and the other custodial. The industrial department is to be a department for culture, in which shall be placed such feeble-minded children who are actually, in a practical sense, capable of improvement, in which the rudiments of a common school education are to be taught in connection with, and subordinate to, culture in manual and industrial occupations. The objective point to be attained in this department is future usefulness, self-care and self-support. The custodial department shall be an asylum for low-grade feeble-minded, idiotic, epileptic children. In this department special attention shall be paid to mental, physical and hygienic treatment."

²⁷ For detailed information, see *Annual Reports* made to the governor.

§ 143 TAX SYSTEM

The taxing system of the state had received very little attention by the Assembly since 1840. At that time a general change from a *per capita* tax to an *ad valorem* system had been made. The property then consisted almost wholly of real estate and visible personal property, such as farmers and merchants possessed. The constitution of 1851 had merely limited the Assembly to a uniform and equal rate of taxation. As long as the burden of taxation fell entirely on tangible property this worked very well but during the Fifties an enormous amount of money was invested in corporation stock, especially railroads. The government was very friendly to these undertakings and rarely was a railroad appraised for taxation at more than one-fifth its real value. Before this question was adjusted the Civil war came on, bringing still greater burdens and difficulties. The incidence of taxation was little understood, so that corporations as a rule almost escaped.

At the beginning of the war the national treasury was empty. A direct tax was laid on the states, Indiana's part being \$904,875. The state promptly assumed this burden and in the course of the war offset it with sums spent in fitting out troops for the national government. The legislative part of the state government broke down during the war and only the systematic precaution of the governor saved its finances from inextricable confusion.

The state debt at the close of the war was \$7,418,960.50, of which \$6,036,080.33 was on account of bonds issued in 1847 at the state's settlement with its creditors. A sinking fund had then been started which if honestly administered, would have liquidated this debt in 1866, but the money from the sinking fund had been diverted to other purposes. The As-

sembly of 1865, special session, levied a tax of ten cents on the hundred dollars to form a sinking fund to redeem the old canal bonds, empowering the board to buy for the fund the bonds whenever possible at advantageous prices.²⁶ This tax was repealed, February 22, 1871. Not till December 21, 1872, was any systematic revision of the tax law accomplished. This law provided for three forms of taxation, a poll tax, a direct property tax and a specific stock tax. The poll tax was to fall on all males between the ages of 21 to 50. Property was divided as usual into real estate such as land and immovables fixed on the land and personal such as household goods, stocks, bonds, steamboats, money and like effects of all kinds. Property was to be assessed at its true cash value, that is what it would bring at a fair cash sale. Capital stock, franchises and such intangible property were to be assessed at the same rate by the state board of equalization, except that where the tangible property of a corporation was assessed the capital stock should not be. Mortgaged real estate was considered as belonging to the mortgagor and no exemption allowed. The law was drawn with considerable care, specifying how, when and where all species of property should be assessed. Telegraph, express, railroad, bank, and other corporate properties, including mills and factories, were rather minutely described. Real estate was to be appraised by the assessors every second year and personal property annually. The county commissioners, auditor, and assessors were constituted a county board of equalization. The governor, lieutenant governor, secretary, auditor and treasurer of state were constituted a state board of equalization. It met at the capital biennially on the year real property was assessed.

²⁶ *Laws of Indiana, Special, 1865*, chs. III and IV.

This board not only equalized assessments from the counties but assessed originally the capital stock of all companies incorporated under the laws of the state, except railroad and telegraph, and certified such valuation to the proper county auditors.²⁰ This law has been amended often but in principle remains our taxing system of today.

§ 144 RECONSTRUCTION POLITICS

As might be inferred from the last section, national politics controlled political parties in the state. The Civil war increased immensely the power of the federal government at the expense of the state. At the beginning of the war a large part, counting the south, a majority, denied the power of the federal government to coerce a state. By the end of the war no considerable body of men but what admitted it. States rights as a political principle was tainted with the odor of secession and treason. The Republican party in 1856 denied that the central government had any power over slavery in the states but by 1863 it was well on the road to Abolition by the fiat of the nation. The constitution of the United States left the matter of suffrage with the states but at the close of the war the Republican party was able to force the Fifteenth amendment. This revolution in political sentiment caused a great deal of friction in Indiana. One of the chief attractions of the Knights of the Golden Circle was its emphatic declarations against the coercion of a sovereign state and the Emancipation Proclamation. Thousands of Democrats who had no intention of becoming traitors firm-

²⁰ *Laws of Indiana, Special, 1872, ch. XXXVII.* This law covers 72 pages. A comparison with the tax law of 1840 will show the enormous change that had come about in the commercial life of the people.

ly opposed these war measures. They continually demanded that the constitution be restored as it was. The followers of Jefferson as a rule became "peace Democrats," many of them Knights. The followers of Jackson became "war Democrats," and many ultimately found themselves in the Republican party.

The Republican party in Indiana also went through the reconstruction program with considerable wincing. Expediency and resentment often guided it instead of statesmanship and reason. Its first internal struggle was with the national reconstruction policy. The urgent, immediate demands of the war had engrossed the attention of the party. The will of Morton had been law to the party during these times. Political leadership of this kind, constructive statesmanship, was not a strong point with him. He was forceful and dominating but not far-sighted and persistent. When Lincoln formulated his reconstruction policy Morton fell in line along with the rank and file of the party. The death of Lincoln devolved not only the presidency but this policy on Johnson. The leaders of the radical wing of the Republican party did not take kindly to this plan of reconstruction and at once attacked the President. Morton in a speech at Richmond supported Johnson, as he had formerly supported Lincoln. The radicals were represented in Indiana by George W. Julian. These men, after the war was over, developed an energy and bitterness in their treatment of the south out of all proportion to their part in the actual struggle. They were entirely possessed by the slavery question. All public issues and all men were judged by their relation to this question. Morton and the Republican party of Indiana might have stood for a more rational policy in the south had it not been for the hot-headed conduct of the southern

leaders who resented the attacks of the northern radicals.

The Union Republican state convention at Indianapolis, February 22, 1866, politely straddled the quarrel by endorsing both congress and the President, with emphasis on the former. The situation was considerably complicated for the Republicans when the Democrats in state convention, March 15, denounced secession and heartily endorsed Johnson. It even went so far as to denounce the recent joint resolution of the state Assembly looking toward the repeal in our constitution of that provision prohibiting colored people from coming into Indiana.

During the campaigns from 1866 to 1870 inclusive there was no issue in state politics worthy of notice. The Republicans, on account of internal struggles between radicals and conservatives, watched a majority of 20,000 dwindle to nothing. Candidates as a rule sought office by catering to the soldier vote. The soldiers were often put to the hard choice of voting either for these coat-tail swingers or for men who had proven slackers in the war. In such times third parties are bred.

CHAPTER XXVIII

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

§ 145 STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE

Among the many interests which claimed the attention of Governor Wright, agriculture was his favorite. Though not a farmer and without either practical or scientific knowledge of his subject, he delighted to attend and address farmers' meetings. His purpose, it seems, at least it was the result of his work, was not immediately to increase technical knowledge among farmers but rather to dignify their work in their own minds. The very fact that there was agitation on this subject is proof that some farmers had reached the stage where the occupation was not all drudgery. On the other hand, the great mass of farmers lived hard. Especially were the lives of the women and children unattractive.¹

¹ *State Board of Agriculture*, II, 1882, p. 352. "The hardest toll, day by day, scarcely brought remunerative crops, because misdirected. Ragged looking farms, grown up with briars and weeds, surrounded by broken fences, greeted the traveler on every hand; a sorry lot of long-haired, long-horned, poor, shelterless cattle, a few small, poor, hump-covered sheep, a pair of shabby, long-tailed horses, rendered almost useless by hard work and poor food, a few lantern-jawed swine, too poor to squeal, help set off the picture; rendered still less attractive by the cheerless, comfortless home of the discontented owner, situated, usually, in the lowest, swampiest place on the farm—the hingeless door, the one small window filled up with old hats and old clothing—the smoky mud chimney, if not entirely down, propped up by a long pole or a few fence rails, to say nothing of the interior, present a sufficiently repulsive prospect, and a sufficient evidence, if, indeed, any other were needed, of the falsity and ruinous tend-

Into this dull routine of labor Governor Wright wished to inject some purpose, some vision, not only to alleviate its dullness but ultimately to increase its effectiveness. He pleaded not only for shorter hours, but for more work, so that farmers might have leisure for reading, visiting or picnicing.¹

In his annual message, December 31, 1850, the governor asked for some positive legislation looking toward the diffusion of popular and scientific knowledge among the farmers.² The scheme as outlined by the governor was a system of local, county or district agricultural societies, preferably one for each county, aided slightly by the county treasurer, affiliated with a state agricultural society managed by a

ency of that capital and almost universal error, that "it is not necessary to educate farmers' boys." This very last maxim has done more to ruin our soil, and degrade the noblest, most independent, and health-giving occupation under the canopy of heaven, in a condition of mere mental drudgery than all other causes combined."

¹ *First Annual Report of the State Board of Agriculture*, 5. "It is very remarkable that a pursuit in which more than four-fifths of our population are engaged should have remained so long without that spirit of emulation which the meetings of county and State fairs are so well calculated to bring about. The public mind seems now to have waked up to the realization of something practical; and each man asks for himself the best system, the best mode, the best manner of reaping the rewards of the labor bestowed on the soil."

² *House Journal*, 1850, p. 28: "The cultivation and improvement of our soil is that upon which the other branches of business rely for support, and is the true source of all wealth. The system that adds to the stock of information in agriculture will promote the welfare of the State, and deserves to be encouraged by the legislative department. The establishment of a state board of agriculture, to consist, say, of nine members, for the express purpose of organizing a state agricultural society, would be calculated to bring into existence, in the several counties of the state, county societies that would be auxiliaries to the state association."

state board of agriculture. Each local society was to carry on a continuous program of agricultural education by means of reading, discussion and lectures and an annual fair where all the products and craft-work of farmers were to be exhibited. Each exhibitor, who won a prize, was to give a detailed account of how he raised or produced the things exhibited.

The state society was to hold two board meetings annually at which at least one delegate from each local society should be present. These were to be open meetings at which would gather leading farmers from over the state and hear not only discussions by Indiana farmers but addresses by notable men from abroad, such as Henry Ward Beecher, Horace Greeley or Joseph R. Williams of Michigan. Another duty of the state board was to gather agricultural statistics and information to be published in an annual report. This series of reports beginning in 1851 is a wonderful history of agriculture in the state. The third duty of the state board, however, is best known and to thousands of farmers is the only one by which it is known, that is holding a state fair annually. This has been done more to popularize and spread agricultural knowledge than all other agencies combined. A bill embodying the governor's ideas was in due time passed by the Assembly and became a law, February 14, 1851.*

The state board consisted of sixteen members of which the governor was the first named. It was required to hold at least one meeting, early in January, each year. It had authority to hold one or more fairs each year and was compelled to make an annual report, embracing a brief resume of the work of each county society as well as of its own work.

* *Laws of Indiana*, 1850, ch. III.

In a previous chapter statistics have been given showing the material progress made in Indiana between 1850 and 1860. Almost all of that was due to improvement in methods of farming and transportation. There had been agitation and organization looking toward better methods of farming in Indiana back about 1830 when agricultural societies had been formed in several counties, notably in Washington, Wayne and Marion, but during the intervening period from 1835 to 1850 there had been a great demand for labor on the state's internal improvement enterprises and farming interests had languished.

The movement of 1850, aside from the social improvement of the farming class, was directed toward better treatment of soil, a better grade of farm animals, better varieties and seeds for planting, better methods of cultivation and harvesting, better country roads, and better common schools in which the rudiments of farming at least should be taught.

§ 146 CARE OF THE SOIL

The pioneers had no regard for continued fertility of the soil. Indeed, it seemed too rich in many cases. After a field was cleared it was planted in corn at least four successive years to kill the sprouts and give the small stumps time to rot out. Not infrequently, especially in bottom land, twelve to twenty crops of corn were grown in succession before wheat was planted. There was an alleged reason for not sowing wheat on new land. For some mysterious reason flour from wheat grown on fresh land made what was called "sour bread." The wheat itself was called "sick wheat." It was claimed that hogs would not eat it.* Another reason for not rais-

* *Major's Memoirs, Morgan County*, 290.

ing wheat on new land was that it usually fell down, either because some element in the straw was lacking or more probably because it grew too high, frequently growing six feet. A rain or wind storm after the wheat was filled tangled it so that it could not be cradled. Eight or ten corn crops in succession often left the upland so poor that it was put into pasture or perhaps set in orchard. Then came the struggle between briars, sassafras and weeds and the deepening and widening gullies. A field once overgrown was seldom reclaimed. Thousands of acres in southern Indiana yet bear witness to the old style of farming. Here and there in the thickets one comes across an old chimney, a gnarled apple tree or other evidence that there once was plow land. An essay by Byrem Lawrence on care of hilly land shows beyond question that some persons even at that early date were not unaware of what was being done.*

Dr. R. T. Brown, of Montgomery county, recommended three things to farmers of his county: First, perfect drainage, which was to be accomplished by a system of tiling; second, the addition of clay and sand to the prairie lands, which could be accomplished by subsoiling; third, the black land was in need of lime and he urged that at least ten bushels per acre be spread on. He was opposed to using salt as a fertilizer.†

Rotation of crops was urged by almost all lecturers of that time. J. R. Goodwin, of Franklin county, after discussing all the rotations given in *Chaplet's Manual* concluded that corn, wheat and clover with perhaps, on thin lands, a fallow following the clover,

* *Agricultural Reports*, 1852, p. 308.

† *Agricultural Reports*, 1853, p. 249. Horace Greeley, in an address at the State Fair at Lafayette, Oct. 13, 1853, said deep plowing or sub-soiling, draining, and irrigation were the three things universally necessary.

was the best. It seems that clover then produced a rank crop the second year if pastured down the first. This second crop was to be turned under.* Commercial fertilizer was little used then. Besides the ordinary barnyard manure, the enterprising farmer depended on plowing green crops under, such as clover, buckwheat, rye or grass; salt, gypsum, plaster of paris, wood ashes, and lime were frequently recommended.

§ 147 FARM STOCK

The ordinary live stock on an Indiana farm of 1850 was a small "menagerie." One man's cows are described as "rawboned, misshapen, wild-looking, long-legged beasts, which would hold his horse a long tug in a fair race." His oxen were "long-legged, ill-broken and ravenous." "Cows not larger than good Bakewell sheep are scattered over the country everywhere." Horses varied from a "half pony mongrel" to a "tame hippopotamus." Drovers of "elm peeler" hogs lived next door neighbors to herds of Leicesters. The same general description applied to all. Families coming from New York brought stock common to that region; families from Carolina did the same. The draft horses of Pennsylvania, the race horses of Kentucky and Virginia and the unregistered "plugs" from everywhere found friends in each community.

No serious thought had been given to the improvement of live stock in the state previous to 1845 or 1850.[†]

* *Agricultural Reports*, 1854, p. 181. In 1850 Andrew Erskine, of Vanderburgh county, found the following the best fall rotation: Clover, wheat, pasture, wheat, corn, oats. The clover crop was generally regarded as a pasture or manure crop.

[†] Durham cattle were being exhibited at the fairs to the delight and wonder of the people. J. D. Williams ("Blue Jeans")

The general demand for horses had led to the adoption of two general classes; the heavy draft horse, used by the wagoners in four and six horse teams, traveling twenty five miles per day over the rough roads, drawing heavy loads; and the light, clean-limbed Kentucky-Virginia breeds used for horse-back riding, light harness and for light farm work. At the state fair of 1855, one of the best before the war, the horses were classified as farm, draft, carriage and riding. The farm horses were described as "coarse and awkward" and the wish expressed that they would not be brought to the fairs. These were the choice of ordinary farm animals, referred to contemptuously as the "two dollar and a half" breed. Two varieties of drafts attracted attention, the Canadian and English. Both were low, stocky, heavy, muscular, slow-moving and not desirable for Indiana. They were criticised by the judges for having too much bulk and not enough speed. The carriage horses attracted the attention. These were representative of the erect, smart-stepping, matched teams so frequently shown in illustrations of that day. Every well-to-do farmer prided himself on a span of such drivers. Not only the custom but this breed of horses came down from the English country gentlemen by way of Virginia and Kentucky. The

exhibited a four-year-old steer at the Knox county fair, 1855, weighing 2,700 pounds. St. Joseph county the same year reported a number of imported Durhams and Devons. A large number of Foked Durhams had been recently brought into Wabash county, where "blooded" calves sold for twice as much as "scrubs." At the state fair for the same year fourteen pedigreed Durham bulls were exhibited. The Devons were regarded as superior for the dairy and the Durhams for beef. One of the earliest short-horn bulls imported into Indiana was Earl of Newham brought by W T Dennis and Elihu Morrow, of Richmond, in 1850. His picture forms the frontispiece to the *Second Annual Report of the state board, 1862*.

attractive colors were the glassy gray and black. A gray from Ohio and a black Highlander named Chancellor from Hendricks county were favorites. The Highlanders were generally conceded the best harness horses but they were overshadowed by the Morgans.

The latter were the pioneer horses without question. Originated some fifty years before in Vermont from French Canadian and English blood, they combined strength, endurance, size and speed. Trim built, small head, deep chest, clean, wiry, sinewy, gentle, reliable, they were the standard of the day. They held records of one hundred miles and better from sun to sun. Six of these would whisk a coach over the National road at a ten or fifteen mile gait for three or four hours without showing signs of distress. The state board recommended that the Morgans and Messengers displace the "scrubs" on Indiana farms. There is a picture of Morgan Hector on page 381 of the *Agricultural Reports*, 1852.

Saddle horses were numerous and of high grade. These were the gentlemen's pride. All the breeds were varieties of the Kentucky, Virginia, English racers. The secretary observed, however, that the saddle horse was being crowded out by the light harness horse. All told, there was promise of great improvement in the breed of horses, a promise not fulfilled on account of the war, until many years later.

If horses were the pride of the farmers, hogs were their support. The census of 1860 gave the state 2,498,528 head, a number not equaled by any other state in the Union, an average of near ten for each family.* The exhibition of hogs was the most com-

* In 1858 there were 2,150,627 hogs raised, valued at \$6,307,166; the pork packed was valued at \$2,380,439, the bacon cured was 18,045,187 pounds, worth \$1,100,475; the 4,337,272 pounds of

plete of any of the fair, both as to number of breeds and the excellence of the stock. The era of the "eim peeler" was coming to a close. There were Suffolks, Leicesters, Polands, Byefields, Graziers, Russian Berkshires, Bedfords and Chester Whites, with a number of crosses. In general features the Polands were considered the best pure blood. A cross with Leicester or Suffolk would make them better feeders. An item in the report showed that mast was still an item with swine. The only serious objection to the Polands was their black color. A cross with Leicesters would make them white and also keep their ears up out of their eyes. The Chester Whites were favorites on account of their huge size and white color. A general objection to the thorough-breds was that when fat they could not walk as fast as a horse from Indianapolis to Cincinnati, as could the native four-year-olds.¹⁰

The Indiana farmers of 1850 raised considerable numbers of sheep, the numbers increasing from 1,122,493 in 1850 to 2,157,375 in 1860. They used a

lard were worth \$382,640; while hogs butchered for home use were valued at \$740,899.

¹⁰ The following remark of a fair patron contrasts the two "At the fair I purchased two pairs, their ears very broad and hanging down nearly to the point of their short noses; but more industrious, active, feed-hunting pigs I have never had. In one particular, however, I see a marked difference between them and what is called good common stock. Let a rain soften the ground and the long snouts of the latter are up to their eyes in it, rooting out the clover and upturning the blue grass sod. The Polands graze more sensibly, letting the roots remain for future yield. Another difference is this. They do not put up their bristles and dash off with a booh! booh! when the owner comes near but run to meet him, as gentle as pet sheep. A third difference consists in their being always fat and round, whilst the improved common stock are flat-sided, and never fat until their growth is attained."

large part of the wool for clothing but with the coming of railroads were selling not only wool but the sheep for mutton east. The endless feud between dogs and sheep was a discouraging feature of sheep raising. There were almost as many dogs as sheep and in the affections of the family the dogs had an advantage. It was a question of sentiment against gain and the fight is still on. In 1861 the General Assembly enacted a law licensing and taxing dogs, setting aside in the hands of the township trustee the fund so obtained to pay for the sheep killed and crippled.¹¹

At the state fair of 1854 there were shown Saxons, French and Spanish Merinos, South Downs, Cotswold and Leicesters. The Saxons were being introduced in considerable numbers from western Pennsylvania. The Saxons and Merinos were small sheep and especially prized for mutton, by those who still had a lingering taste for venison. It was said they earned their board and keep by eating the weeds, briars and sprouts on the farm. Those who raised sheep for wool preferred the Cotswolds and Leicesters.

§ 148 Crops

By 1850 it was pretty well ascertained what crops would prosper in Indiana. One hears no more of silk worms and mulberries, or of grape vineyards rivaling sunny France. The experiments with cotton were about all made while the culture of hemp, flax and hops was being abandoned. On the other hand the United States patent office furnished the Indiana board of agriculture in 1856 with a supply of sorghum cane seed, the first that had been seen in the

¹¹ *Laws of Indiana, 1861, ch. L.* This law is substance in yet on the statute books.

west. This seed was distributed to all the members of the state board at the January meeting and crops of cane were raised in all parts of the state. Cane and sorghum molasses were both exhibited at the state fair of 1857.¹²

Of field crops the leader was and always has been corn. The crop of 1856, as shown by the report of the state auditor, was 39,833,366 bushels, worth \$11,122,160. Rush county led with 1,346,307 bushels and Starke brought up the rear with 17,106 bushels. It is interesting to note that Rush county in 1915 still led in the average yield per acre. Benton county which now leads the state, in 1856 produced 240,817 bushels.

The state fair of 1856 offered premiums for the best ten-acre fields of corn grown on clay, prairie, and alluvial soils. The first prize for the farmer went to Swan Brookshire of Montgomery county who raised an average of 146½ bushels per acre; the latter prize was taken by John P. Dawson of Warren county whose corn averaged 153 bushels per acre. Michael Weider of Sullivan county took a first on five acres of corn grown on prairie which averaged 171 bushels, individual acres producing as much as 180.

The cultivation was simple. Mr. Weider's field was a "deadening" set in blue grass and pastured until the stumps were all rotted out. It was planted on the first of June, with a small Barnhill drill, plowed with a single shovel three times and hoed. The total cost of cultivation was \$5.60 per acre. It was planted to the ordinary white corn grown in the neighborhood.

An incident of this year's fair was the contest among boys for the best acre of corn. This prize was

¹² For experiments with sorghum cane, see report of A. H. Vestal, in *Agricultural Reports*, 1857, p. 399.

won by John Williams of Knox county, who received his schooling in an old cooper shop and broke his acre for corn with two yokes of oxen.

The implements used to cultivate corn were a breaking plow, with wooden mouldboards, operated with two horses or two yokes of oxen, a single shovel used both for marking off and later for cultivating the growing corn; a two horse "A," spike-tooth harrow used for pulverizing the soil after breaking and by removing the front tooth, for cultivating the corn the first time; a cultivator operated usually with one horse and having two or three small shovels or "bull tongues"; and a supply of hoes. Cultivators were not widely used. Nearly all corn was checker planted and covered with a hoe, though a number of small corn drills were on the market. It was thought impossible to keep weeds out of corn unless it was laid off both ways. Eleven of the prize takers of 1857 planted their corn by hand and six drilled. Only one of the winners had used manure on his land. The land had been plowed from eight to ten inches deep. Little attention was being given to seed, most references being to the "ordinary yellow" or "white" corn. There was occasional mention of Dickerson's white, Boyd's, Baden, Brown, King Philip, Tuscarora and Darby varieties of corn but nothing was given by which to distinguish them.

Wheat ranked as the second agricultural staple of the state fifty years ago, as it does at present, though it is being closely pushed by oats now. The total yield for 1856 was 9,350,971 bushels, worth \$8,828,458. Rush county led with 339,242 bushels, a position it yielded in 1915 to Knox. Among the prize winners at the state fair for 1857 were Elias Ogaw, of Wabash county, whose ten acres averaged 31½ bushels per acre; James A. Merryman who averaged 33 bushels; William Fulwiler, of Howard, who pro-

duced 48 bushels on one acre; and George Woodfill, who raised 44 bushels on an acre. John Williams, of Knox county, also took the boy's premium for the best single acre of wheat. He raised 33½ bushels of spring wheat. Only one of the prize winners manured his wheat ground; all sowed broadcast; one broke in July, four in August, two in September and one in October, each breaking about nine inches deep. Five of the winners sowed White Blue Stem wheat; one sowed New York White; and one South American. It seems from the county reports throughout the decade that varieties of White wheat and Blue Stem were most widely sown, though Mediterranean and Genesee were becoming common and highly praised. Soule, Baltic, Etrurian, Canadian, varieties of Flint, Banner and May were names of wheat raised in different parts of the state. The bearded and smooth heads seemed to be equally favored. Wheat, more than corn, depended for its cultivation on means of transportation. The conspicuous wheat counties were located on railroads or rivers. A difference of thirty cents per bushel, due to transportation, might be found in the price of wheat in adjacent counties. Smut, Hessian fly, weevil and rust were troublesome in all parts of the state. Reapers were coming into use gradually though there was much opposition by harvest hands. Only a very small portion of the wheat and oats before the war was cut by machinery.¹² It was the golden era of the cradlers.

A special demonstration of machines for cleaning wheat was given at the 1857 state fair. The judges divided the entire machine into power, thresher, and separator, giving first premium to separate individuals on each part. This was the beginning of the old

¹² For a description of iron reapers exhibited in 1860, see *Agricultural Report, 1860*, p. 68.

horse power machine which threshed the wheat, oats, and rye of Indiana from 1850 to about 1880. The earliest machines were small enough that two men could lift one. They gradually grew from two horse power up to twenty-four as the cylinder was widened, the separator lengthened, and strawstacker added. Cylinder and concave, riddles and fan were the essential parts. The problem was to get the smut out of the wheat. If any were left in, the price of the wheat was greatly reduced.

J. D. Williams, of Knox county, took the first premium on a ten acre field of oats. His average was $83\frac{1}{2}$ bushels. This seemed to be far above ordinary, since the second prize went to S. H. Anderson, of Marion county, who averaged 57 bushels. The oats crop was not large, only 4,621,800. Lake county stood first with 190,428 bushels. One of the prize exhibitors said his oats were cut with a cradle, sunned for a few hours, tied up and in eight or ten days conveyed to the barn and tramped out, yielding 63 bushels per acre.

Little thoughtful attention was given to raising hay for the market except near the Ohio river. Much larger crops of grass were harvested in the northern part of the state but nearly all was prairie and swamp grass and was fed on the farm during the winter. The river counties, especially Dearborn and Switzerland, raised some hay for the southern market. J. D. Williams took first premium on timothy and red top, the former yielding 5,062 pounds per acre, the latter 3,933 pounds. Mr. Williams also raised $11\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of English blue grass seed on an acre, taking first prize. In general, in most parts of the state, farmers showed more interest in improving their pastures than in improving their hay fields. Lewis J. Beyman, of Washington county, cut 6,333 pounds of timothy from one acre in 1855 and on an

other acre cut 8,600 pounds. The average yield of timothy seems to have been slightly above one ton. Clover was common but considered only as pasturage.

Rye was grown in every county of the state but its total amount was only 182,063 bushels, about 2,000 bushels to each county. Allen county, with 11,049 bushels, was first. The same may be said of barley. The crop of 1857 was 59,795 bushels, Dearborn county leading with 8,866 bushels. The reports from all parts of the state indicated that farmers were abandoning these crops.

Hemp was grown in twenty-seven counties, a total of 413 tons; hops in thirty-nine counties, totaling 164,185 pounds. Both these were negligible so far as general interest or value were concerned.

In 1857 there were raised in the state, 486,734 pounds of tobacco, over one-fourth of which came from Spencer county, 125,416 pounds. The report indicated that the production of this crop was increasing.

Irish potatoes were grown in large quantities in every county, the total crop of 1,195,485 bushels being fairly well distributed. Elkhart and Allen counties were far ahead in total amount, the former with 76,876 bushels and the latter with 72,516. The prize varieties were Pinkeyes, Mexicans, Mercers, Peach Blooms, Black, White and Red Mechanocs, Prairie Queens, Shaker Blues, Russets and Merinos. The yield was from 200 to 450 bushels per acre, few of which could now be eaten. The Peach Blooms and Mechanocs especially tasted much like green persimmons. The sweet potato was comparatively a new-comer in 1850 and there was considerable discussion as to its proper cultivation. A. H. and J. W. Vestal, of Wayne county, had raised a crop yielding 268 bushels per acre. The committee said they placed

their specimens on exhibition by the cord. At their booth these exhibitors handed out a pamphlet describing the potatoes, methods of cultivation and manner of cooking. Some of these potatoes had been kept two years and were fresh.

The evidence is ample that the Hoosiers of the fifties had good gardens. In the Randolph county fair of 1856 there were entered more than 100 different varieties of vegetables. In St. Joseph county 175 entries were made. A Warrick county squash weighed 197 pounds. Z. S. Ragan, of Hendricks, exhibited 82 varieties of apples and 18 of pears. L. D. G. Nelson, of Allen county, showed 49 varieties of apples. The best collection of apples, six varieties, for all-year use was shown by Allen Lloyd of Lafayette. The varieties were Fall Wine, Rambo, Bellflower, Ortle, Pryor's Red and Wine Sap. Reuben Ragan, of Putnam county, exhibited the prize collection of 59 varieties of winter apples. All told at the fair of 1857 there were 113 varieties of apples on exhibition. Other fruits in equally bewildering kinds and quantities were shown, but enough of this literature has been canvassed to furnish a comparison with the present.

In many respects the state was almost as well cultivated as at present. Of the population of 1,350,428, perhaps a million were on the farms. There are only about as many today. In 1860 there were in Indiana 8,161,717 acres of improved land, 3,115,174 acres of which had been improved in the decade then just finished. The cash value of the improved land had more than doubled during the decade, largely on account of improved buildings, while the farm implements had jumped in value from \$6,704,404 in 1850 to \$10,420,826 in 1860. The cash value of real estate and personal property in 1860 was \$528,835,371, a gain of 160 per cent. in the decade. These

details have been given at considerable length to give one an idea of agricultural conditions at the outbreak of the Civil war. While that war is the greatest event in our history and the one which the state as a whole can regard with greatest pride, it was a calamity so far as social and political development was concerned. Not until the late eighties were the farmers again in such prosperous condition as in 1860.

§ 149 ROAD BUILDING

Farming conditions were inseparably bound up with transportation. One of the great problems discussed in every agricultural society was roads. At the second meeting of the state board of agriculture the chief topic for discussion was "What is the best system of roads for Indiana?" This question was proposed by Governor Wright to whom Indiana farmers owe a greater debt than to any other man unless it be James D. Williams.

The latest thing in country roads at that time was the plank road. This was made by covering a roadway about ten feet wide with two inch oak boards laid on two longitudinal sleepers or mud sills. This road gave good satisfaction when dry and level. Otherwise it was hard for horses to hold their feet. It was also troublesome when two loaded wagons met. One had to get off and it was difficult to get back, especially if the ground were soft.¹⁴ Travelers

¹⁴ *Agricultural Reports*, 1862, p. 275; J. B. Beets, *The Webash*, I, 298. "But we soon left him and his wagon behind as we trotted lightly along this plank road. And very pleasant a plank road is to travel upon. It may be slippery in wet weather; but now it saved us from the dust which would have arisen from gravel, and the sawn boards or planks, about three inches thick, being nailed to sleepers at the two sides of the road, spanned it from side to side and rose and sank under us with the elasticity of the floor of a ballroom. On each side of the plank track,

over the north end of the Michigan road where it was planked complained that the continual use of the road produced a continuous mud puddle under the planks, so that when the weight of the team or wagon came on it the thin mud spouted up several feet high between the planks, spattering everything. Allen county had a full system of plank roads centering in Fort Wayne. All told in 1850 there were 700 miles of plank roads. The Assembly of 1850 chartered 69 companies to build turnpikes or plank roads about two-thirds being for the latter.

At the meeting of the state board of agriculture, January 17, 1852, above referred to, it was the opinion of the members generally from all parts of the state that plank roads would not prove satisfactory. It was given as the opinion of Henry W. Ellsworth, if a track two feet wide were made of planks laid lengthwise for the wheels to run on and the middle filled with gravel the chief faults of the plank road would be obviated. A few years of actual trial convinced the people that the plank road was a failure. Laid with green lumber, flat on the dirt, many of them were so far decayed in four years as to become dangerous. Their era lasted about five years, during which perhaps 900 miles were built at a cost of one and one half millions of dollars.

Governor Wright thought the best thing to do was to make dirt roads, well graded and well drained. The governor's method of avoiding the use of culverts was ingenious. Culverts, as then constructed,

between it and the worm fences that bounded the road, were holes and stumps and ditches and natural water courses that no wheels could venture amongst." He was travelling west on the National road out of Indianapolis. In the county histories are brief notices of many plank roads, *e. g.*, see *History of Allen County*, 1890, p. 58, *Cass County*, 1886, p. 283. Very little remembrance of these old roads remains among the people.

had become a nuisance. They were usually about three feet above the level of the road and flanked at either side by a deep mud hole. The governor advised removing all culverts and ballasting the crossing or low place with stone so that a pool of water would stand in the road. This, he observed, would be useful in washing the wagon wheels, the horses' hoofs, and for droves of hogs and cattle either to bathe in or drink.¹⁸

Everybody condemned the general plan then in practice of calling out the hands to make roads. The unprofitable system, however, is still in use except where the people on their own initiative have abandoned it. After the war private turnpikes, graded and graveled, took the place of the old plank road.¹⁹

§ 150 AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

The last phase of the movement started by the state board of agriculture in 1851 was that for agricultural education. It has been stated heretofore

¹⁸ *Agricultural Reports*, 1851 (erroneously dated 1852), p. 251.
¹⁹ "I should like to see the experiment tried of making a perfect earth road, without plank or metal. Dig your ditches, say seventeen feet apart, cover them over, throw up the ground in the center, let the water from the ditches be taken to the lowest point. In place of making a culvert and bridge, use the rock for making a solid bed for the water to run over across the road, called a valley, that droves of cattle and the stock of the country may use, and your wagons and carriages may be cleaned thereby. I have great confidence that in a large proportion of our country roads may be made for less than one-half what our plank roads cost, more durable, and far preferable." From an address by Governor Wright at the Wayne County Fair, 1851.

²⁰ An act of Dec. 23, 1858, permitted county boards to assume control of abandoned plank roads. They were extremely dangerous after the planks began to break under the horses' feet. See, also, *Laws of Indiana*, 1859, chs. XCII and XCVI, for acts closing up the plank road companies.

There was a general air of self-satisfaction among farmers that no expert or scientific knowledge could aid them in farming; the utmost that farmers' children needed in the way of education was a superficial training in the three R's. On this idea the old common, district school was founded. Isaac Kinley, an enterprising school teacher of Henry county, in a letter to the state board of agriculture in 1852 estimated the loss of farmers in the United States annually, due to farming "in the moon," at millions. It was the general opinion, he thought, that education rendered a man lazy and unfit for work. For that reason anything more than a modicum of education should not be given to any one unless a cripple or unfitted by temperament for hard, manly work. Fond parents sometimes educated a favorite son so he would not have to work for a living. There was a general public sentiment that labor, especially farm labor, was degrading, that country people were boorish, ignorant, and green. In the slang of the day they were referred to as "hayseeds," "rubins," "hill billies," "seedlings," or with a smack of historical compassion were called "yeomen." Complacent lights of the "learned professions," happily graduated from their former lowly estates, invited the proletarians to gaze on themselves and see what education and application had done. Mr. Kinley pointed out very plainly how unpractical the schools were from the state university down to the district school. Nine-tenths of the people were farmers and there was not a single provision anywhere for teaching their craft.¹⁴

¹⁴ *State Board of Agriculture, 1852*, p. 250. "As one of the farmers of Indiana, but not presuming to speak in their behalf, I ask for the education of the children of the laboring man. Not a more smattering in the elements of the commonest branches, but a thorough, practical, scientific education, of the advantages of

Referring to a deep rooted prejudice among farmers themselves, Joseph R. Williams, in addressing the Elkhart County fair, October 25, 1851, said: "Farmers of Indiana, when you scout the idea that by the agency of societies, books, fairs, schools and chemical analysis and investigations you can be taught nothing in either the art or the science of agriculture, you are wrong—wrong practically, wrong theoretically, wrong morally, wrong politically, wrong economically, every way wrong."¹⁰

These are merely specimens of what could have been heard at every annual address delivered at state and county fairs. The leading farmers of the state were not only ashamed of the illiteracy of the farmers but aggrieved that no special consideration was being given to an occupation numbering nine-tenths of the citizens.¹¹

§ 151 THE STATE FAIR

Section six of the act of February 11, 1851, provided that the state board should have power to hold

which the poorest even may avail themselves. Of an end so desirable shall it be said it is unattainable? I will not believe it. Low in the scale of intelligence as the census places our glorious State, I know that she has a better destiny awaiting her. Of the many practical advantages of general education, our people will not long remain ignorant. That ingenuity and energy which on more than one occasion have proven equal to any emergency will not be slow in devising and executing a plan for the education of the children of the laboring man, not only in general learning, but in practical science, the science, each, of his own avocation."

¹⁰ *Agricultural Reports*, 1851, p. 88.

¹¹ For two typical addresses on this subject, see *Agricultural Reports*, 1857, p. 620, by F. S. McCabe, at the Miami County Fair, and p. 634, by James Collins, at the Lawrence County Fair. This was found the most difficult question in which to interest the farmers and the one on which least progress has been made. The subject is discussed at greater length in the chapters on education.

state fairs at such times and places as it deemed expedient. All details were left to the discretion of the board. The scope of the fair might be such as to include all "articles of science and art."¹

No attempt was made to hold a state fair during the year 1851. Provision however was made at the meeting on June 28, 1852, for a state fair the following autumn. W. T. Dennis, of Richmond, was appointed to prepare the fair grounds, which he was empowered to choose. The fair was set for October 17, following, and all the editors of the state sent complimentary tickets in return for publicity. Mr. Dennis immediately prepared a schedule of rules and regulations to govern the exhibition and award of premiums. Exhibitors were compelled to present with their exhibits detailed accounts of how the thing was made or raised. The best of these papers were intended for and later printed in the *Reports*. A public sale was to follow at the grounds on Saturday. The fair was duly opened to the public, October 20, 1852, at Indianapolis. An examination of the items shows beyond question that Indiana had passed the pioneer age. Passing by the pedigreed stock there were cultivators, subsoilers, rootcutters, cornshellers, straw cutters, wheat and corn drills, reapers, mowers, threshers, hay-pressers, smut machines, fan

¹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1850, ch. IV. The first members of the state board were "Joseph A. Wright of Marion county, Alexander C. Stevenson of Putnam, Jeremiah McBride of Martin, Roland Willard of Kosciusko, Jacob B. Harris of Switzerland, Henry L. Ellsworth of Tippecanoe, John Ratliff of Morgan, Joseph Orr of Laporte, David F. Holloway of Wayne, John B. Kelly of Warrick, William McLain of Lawrence, Samuel Emerson of Knox, John McMahan of Washington, Thomas W. Sweeney of Allen, George Brown of Shelby, and George Hussey of Vigo, be and they are hereby created a body corporate, with perpetual succession in the manner hereafter described, under the name and style of the 'Indiana State Board of Agriculture.'"

mills, separators, winnowers, brandusters, regrinders, flour and meal mills, churns, cook and parlor stoves, boring machines, sausage grinders, hand looms, brick machines, washing machines, saw mills, ice cream freezers, rat traps, scales of numerous kinds (one of which would weigh 800,000 pounds at one time), potato diggers, garden sprinklers, ax handles, carriages of all kinds, printing presses, trucks, fire proof safes, Howe, Wilson and Singer sewing machines, shower baths, broom handles, bacon, tombstones, spinning wheels, hub machines, railroad jacks, sawmill dogs, mineral teeth, pearl work, shell lace, daguerreotypes, medicines, beltings and so on for pages the list of awards run. There were more than 20,000 persons present and the board was highly pleased with the response of the people. Thousands came from 20 to 100 miles in horse and ox wagons, camping along the road, enjoying the autumn weather. Side shows and "menageries" enlivened the occasion so that most agreed that it excelled any camp meeting they had ever attended.

The second state fair, 1853, was held at Lafayette, October 10-14. It seems that the local agricultural society raised the money to prepare the grounds. A feature of this fair was an address by Horace Greeley, October 13, 1853, on "What the Sister Arts Teach as to Farming."²³

The third state fair was held at Madison, after a delegation of Indianapolis men had agreed to raise the money necessary but had generously expressed their preference that the invitation of the Jefferson county society be accepted. At the January meeting of 1854, there was an apple and vegetable show, a precursor of the modern apple show. The third state fair, 1854, was held at Madison and the fourth was in

²³ *Agricultural Reports*, 1853.

1855, at Indianapolia. There was some dissatisfaction among the exhibitors on holding the fair away from Indianapolis, and some dissatisfaction by board members on account of decreased receipts. As a result the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh were held at Indianapolis. The eighth was held at New Albany under the auspices of the Floyd county society. Military activity induced the board to omit the fair in 1861 and from then till 1865 it was little more than an adjunct of the state sanitary commission. In 1865 it was held at Fort Wayne and in 1867 at Terre Haute. All since have been held at Indianapolis.

The first was held at Military park, where the board felt considerably crowded. The fair of 1860 was held on the board's own ground which soon became Camp Morton. Here they were held until 1892. By 1890 the city had grown around the old grounds and in 1891 they were sold for \$275,100 and the Voss farm, 214 acres, lying two miles northeast of the old fair grounds, was purchased.²⁰ On the new grounds a first-class, one mile race track was constructed. In the course of the succeeding years the new grounds have been provided with suitable buildings and facilities for exhibition purposes. For many years the General Assembly gave scant recognition to the fair but since 1896 a more generous policy has been followed. In 1908 a magnificent colosseum was built for the board at a cost of over \$100,000. This building alone has a seating capacity of 12,000.²¹ The work of the state board of agriculture has been of vast importance. The state horticultural society, the creation of a national department of agriculture, the geological survey of Indiana, Purdue university, the

²⁰ *Agricultural Reports*, 1891, pp. 22-31.

²¹ No attempt can be made here to give more than a meager outline of the work of the state board of agriculture.

county fair system, county and local agricultural societies, the scores of state and local live stock raisers' and breeders' associations, promotion of veterinary science are only the more important lines of its activity. Among its leading members have been four governors, Joseph A. Wright, first president of the board; Gov. James D. Williams, of Knox county; Claude Matthews, of Vermilion, and James A. Mount, of Montgomery.²²

²² The plan of this chapter has been to give a detailed picture of farm life in the fifties, and indicate the lines of development. The reader will be able to compare conditions then with those of the present and note the progress.

CHAPTER XXIX

GREENBACKERS AND ORANGES

§ 152 ECONOMIC REVOLUTION

The greatest economic change in our state history took place during and soon after the Civil war. The change in process during the late fifties was hastened by the necessities of the war. Already the railroads had begun to undermine the system of household manufactures. By reducing freight rates it had been made possible to ship wheat, corn and hogs to market rather than flour, whiskey and pork. Every change of this kind released labor on the farms and made it necessary to buy abroad articles formerly produced at the home. Thus released from the loom and spinning wheel at home, hundreds of young women prepared themselves to earn money teaching school. A reference to the reports of the state superintendent of schools will show how rapidly this change took place.

Young men relieved of the tedium of making flour, whiskey and pork, turned to clearing more land and raising larger crops. The decade of the fifties was notable for the invention and introduction of farm machinery. On account of the plenty and cheapness of farm labor this machinery was slow in finding a sale in Indiana. Mowers, reapers and threshers attracted attention at the state and county fairs but only a few were sold to the farmers.

The railroads and the Wabash and Erie canal cut deeply into the flatboat trade during this same period. This not only released a large number of workers but turned commerce to that extent toward the east.

The old burr grist mills, from five to ten in each county, which had formerly given employment to several men in the neighborhood preparing flour to be hauled to the nearest shipping point, either closed down or resumed their former custom grinding. In each and every case laborers were dispensed with.

The war accentuated this change rather sharply. Before the war the change was retarded in each case by the displaced laborers and the usual conservatism of an agricultural population. The Civil war suddenly withdrew every able-bodied laborer that could be spared. Not only were about 200,000 men withdrawn from active labor in the state but their employers became wholesale buyers of supplies for the subsistence of these men, at prices never heard of before. The tempting prices caused the farmers to buy farming implements freely and employ every available agency to increase their crops and take advantage of the rising prices. Thousands of women became active laborers on the farms.

The close of the war reversed all these tendencies. Thousands of young men returned from the army to find their places taken by machines. Wholesalers and jobbers bought all the surplus produce and shipped it to the large cities where it was manufactured into its final form. Released from all difficulties of marketing and manufacture the farmers increased their output rapidly. On top of this came a break in produce prices, a rise in the price of machinery and an increase in freight rates. Such were the underlying conditions surrounding the struggle carried on during the seventies between the farmers and their economic enemies.

As shown in another chapter, railroad construction was pushed with energy from 1850 to 1860. In the former year there were 228 miles; in the latter

2,125 miles in Indiana. Capital to the extent of \$34,457,030 had been invested. The more important of these roads ran east and west, and already they had begun noticeably to turn commerce along the parallels.¹

Of a total number of 6,938 school teachers in Indiana in 1861 there were 1611 women² and in 1866 out of a total of 9,493 teachers 4,163 were women.³ There are no available statistics to show how many women worked in the fields but it is common knowledge among the older generation that on every farm one might expect to find women and children at work. Especially was this true during the last two years of the war when a great deal of machinery was being used.

The census of 1850 did not give the value of the farming implements in Indiana but did give the value of all such implements made in the state at \$146,025. Since few were brought in, this might be taken as approximately correct for all the implements in use. By 1860 this item had increased to \$709,645.⁴ By 1880 this same item had reached \$20,470,988, a *per capita* expense of about \$10, or five and one-half per cent. of the total farm products. Domestic manufactures as noted in chapter XXII declined sharply, throwing a *per capita* expense on farmers of about \$200.

The young men released from farm work by the introduction of machinery went west in large numbers and on the plains of Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska and Minnesota, with the aid of improved farm machinery, entered into an unequal competition with the folks back home in the production of corn and wheat. It would burden this narrative too much to quote all

¹ *Eighth Census, Preliminary*, 226.

² *State Superintendent's Report*, 6.

³ *State Superintendent's Report*.

⁴ *Eighth Census, Preliminary*, 169.

the statistics concerned with this question but the wheat crops of 1860 and 1879 will illustrate the point. Illinois rose from 24 to 51 million bushels; Indiana from 15 to 47; Iowa from 8 to 31; Kansas from 1.5 to 17; Minnesota from 2 to 34; Missouri from 4 to 24; the whole country from 171 to 459.¹ A still greater increase is shown in the case of corn.

The natural result of this was a steady decline in prices or a steady rise in the value of money. Wheat on the Indianapolis and Chicago market, the demand was entirely local, brought about eighty cents in 1857. By 1866 the price had risen to \$2.00 and by 1880 had settled down to \$1.00. This decline was general in farm produce. On the other hand freight rates refused to respond to the general decline. Tempted by the rush of settlers to the northwest, the railroads, having extended their lines farther than sound business would warrant, found it necessary to hold rates up or bankrupt and many did both.²

§ 153 GRANGERS

Local organizations or clubs of farmers had been common in Indiana at least fifty years before the Grangers came. None of the earlier organizations were secret. Most of them were not only public but organized under general statutes. Such were the county agricultural societies organized in 1852 and later. Many counties—Washington, Wayne and Marion especially—had had independent agricultural societies since the early thirties. In certain communities local horticultural societies, social and professional in their nature, had long been in existence.³

¹ *United States Census*, 1860, p. 200, and 1880, p. 177.

² These were called "Wild Cat" roads, from the fact that they were built for exploitation and not for service.

³ O. H. Kelly, *The Patrons of Husbandry*, 18: "Agricultural societies have done much good by establishing fairs; yet these

Some of the earliest Granges were formed by chartering these societies and initiating their members. However, there was little articulation among the farmers. In the United States the occupation numbered nearly six million out of a total of twelve millions of workers. There was no class consciousness nor professional pride. At a time when railroaders, bankers, manufacturers, merchants, and jobbers were combining and pooling interests, farmers acted as individuals, each doing the best he could in the game of trade.*

The Grange seems, however, to have had its origin in an attempt by the government to stimulate farm production and thereby lower prices. In January, 1866, President Johnson sent O. H. Kelly, an employe of the bureau of agriculture, on a tour of the south to study agricultural conditions. It was on this trip of almost a year that Kelly formulated the idea of the Grange.*

are generally the work of a few right-minded, enthusiastic men, aided oftentimes by aspiring politicians. At these fairs the great attractions generally are implements and works of art, while the products of the soil offer the least attractions, and to bring the farmers out in any numbers, it is actually necessary to introduce as a prominent feature, horse-races and numerous side-shows."

* E. W. Martin, *The Grange Movement*, 408.

* O. H. Kelly, *Patrons of Husbandry*, 19. "Of membership, I should advocate both sexes being admitted, having separate degrees for the ladies, yet all meet in common. Making the expense of each degree but one dollar would place it within the means of all. The secrecy would lend an interest and peculiar fascination, while the material for manufacturing new degrees to keep up an interest would be inexhaustible and here I can safely say no order could surpass this in sublimity of the degrees that can be introduced. My plan of work is this. Having a complete but temporary organization of an United States lodge, dispensations are to be granted to lecturers to organize in several counties in each state; these county organizations to elect one delegate each to the state organization, and the state organization one each

The organization was fashioned in a general way on Masonry. There were to be subordinate lodges, state lodges, and a national. In the subordinate or grange were four degrees, Laborer, Cultivator, Harvester, and Husbandman with their coordinates, Maid, Shepherdess, Gleaner and Matron for women. Men and women met together without distinctions. The state Grange conferred the degree Pomona; the national Grange those of Flora and Cereä. The ritual formed a beautiful system of moral lessons based on the common activities of farm life.

The founder of the order, O. H. Kelly, was a citizen of Minnesota. Through a friend of his in St. Paul he became acquainted with John Weir of Terre Haute whom he appointed a special deputy for Indiana.¹⁰ Near Terre Haute, December 24, 1869, Honey Creek Grange No. 1, the first in the state, was organized. There were 28 members, about half of whom were women and half men. Three evenings later the second one, Terre Haute No. 2, was organized with Harvey D. Scott as master.¹¹ These were the only granges opened in 1869. It was not till early in 1871 that the first grange hall in the state was built by Honey Creek lodge.¹²

Excepting the organization of a lodge at Indianapolis early in the year, little was done in the way of organization during 1870, but early in 1871 Oscar Dinwiddie, of Orchard Grove, Indiana, applied for permission to convert a farmers' club of that place

to the United States. As soon as the majority of the states shall be represented, the temporary organization shall be permanently organized by the United States delegates."

¹⁰ *Patrons of Husbandry*, 180.

¹¹ *Patrons of Husbandry*, 215, 218.

¹² *Patrons of Husbandry*, 302.

into a Grange.¹² June 3, 1871, this grange was organized with thirty members.

The State Grange of Indiana was organized March 1, 1872.¹³ John Weir, who, with the aid of Secretary Kelly, had organized the first subordinate, organized the state grange and became its first master. The order grew with astonishing rapidity in 1874. At the beginning of 1874 there were 423 granges; in March there were 985; and in June 1,409, with 53,141 members. The high water mark was reached in 1875, when a process of consolidation of the smaller granges began. The total organizations in 1876 was reported as 2,036, but already this had been reduced to 1,944 active bodies by suspension and consolidation. These statistics from the *Proceedings* of 1876, are, however, evidently wrong as Secretary Kelly enumerates 2,994 granges organized by 145 deputies in Indiana before January, 1875.¹⁴ The organization at any rate had been carried on too rapidly and many organizations were soon abandoned.¹⁵ For the second quarter of 1875 the state grange paid the national dues on 59,981 members. By the close of 1878 the number of members had

¹² *Ibid.*, 323.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 374. The numbering of the Annual Proceedings begins from 1870. The date is given in the *Brattle*, Oct. 3, 1873, as Feb. 28. Jan. 15, 1873, there were 40 granges in the state.

¹⁴ *Patrons of Husbandry*, 433.

¹⁵ *Proceedings of Fifth Annual Session Indiana Grange*, 26: "Upon taking possession of the office, Jan. 1st, 1874, I found 267 granges registered as paying dues. One year from that time—Jan. 1, 1875—there were registered 2,002, being an increase of 1,735, or at the rate of 147 per month, an increase unprecedented in history and unequalled by any order before known to the world. During the year 1874 organization was the only consideration; in the enthusiasm of the hour everything else was overlooked. Granges were often organized too near each other, a great many were improperly instructed, and many not instructed at all."

dwindled to 521 granges and 16,426 active members in Indiana.

The founders of the state grange had several aims to accomplish, all comprehended in the general ameliorization of the farmer's life. Agricultural education, better social privileges,¹⁷ professional training, political consideration by state and nation and protection in their commercial dealings were the leading feature of their program.¹⁸

§ 154 LIBERAL REPUBLICANS

The first serious revolt in the political parties of Indiana after the Civil war came in 1872.¹⁹ Traces of

¹⁷ Oct. 2, 1873, at a granger picnic on the fair grounds of Muncie, it was estimated that 8,000 people sat down to a granger picnic dinner.—*Sentinel*, Oct. 3.

¹⁸ Annual address of Worthy Master Henley James, *Proceedings*, 1874, p. 11. The grange stood for a Department of Agriculture, with a cabinet position, loyally supported Purdue, favored government control of railroads, opposed restriction of the currency and did much to improve rural schools and country life generally.

¹⁹ George W. Julian's "Journal," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XII, 234. "Johnson was inaugurated today at 11 a. m., and took the oath, and he has already been in the hands of Chase, the Blair, Halleck, General Scott, etc. Chase has again gone crazy about the presidency, and it is said is now plotting for the State Department as a stepping stone. Valu thought! The war committee today sent a request for an interview with the president and will probably secure it tomorrow. Having spent most of the forenoon in caucus with Wade, Chandler, Covode, Judge Carter and Wilkinson, correspondent of *The Tribune*, who is determined to put Greeley on the warpath. In this caucus we agreed upon a new cabinet, which we are tomorrow to urge upon Johnson, among other things placing Butler in the State Department, Stebbins of New York in the Navy and Covode Postmaster-General. I like the radicalism of the members of this caucus, but have not in a long time heard so much profanity. It became intolerably disgusting. Their hostility toward Lincoln's

the division were noticeable earlier but no outbreak came. Friction between the administration and certain reformers was apparent before Lincoln's death. Sumner, Julian, Schurz, Greeley and others had freely criticised.²⁰ The same line of cleavage was noted in the reconstruction legislation. Finding that Grant was sure to stand by the Republican organization the self-styled "Liberals" organized for open opposition.

As noticed in a former chapter the Republican majority in Indiana had slowly dwindled since the close of the war. In the off election of 1870 the state had gone Democratic by approximately 2,500 votes. However, Governor Baker, Senators Morton and Daniel D. Pratt, Vice-President Schuyler Colfax and six of the eleven congressmen were Republicans. Senator Morton was facing re-election with a handicap of 17 holdover Democrats in the state senate.

There was no great amount of enthusiasm for Grant in Indiana but there was less for any one else. Colfax and Morton were both mentioned for the presidency but both were loyal to Grant and neither would permit his name to be used. Even this would not have aided in appeasing the Liberals. The campaign in Indiana had little of state interest in it fur-

policy of conciliation and contempt for his weakness were undisguised; and the universal feeling among radical men here is that his death is a Godsend. It really seems so, for among the last acts of his official life was an invitation to some of the chief rebel conspirators to meet in Richmond and confer with us on the subject of peace. The dastardly attack upon Lincoln and Seward, the great leaders in the policy of mercy, puts to flight utterly every vestige of humanitarian weakness, and makes it seem that justice shall be done and the righteous gods of the war made sure. The government could not have survived the policy upon which it had entered."

²⁰ Julian, *Political Recollections*, 332.

ther than the struggle of the party leaders to keep their footings on the shifting political sands.

The Democrats met on call of their chairmen, December 27, 1871, and discussed the situation fully. It was determined there to await the action of the Republicans and lay their course accordingly. This seemed good policy to all but it was their undoing, as events showed. The Republicans as was well known, had a family fight on, of which the Democrats expected in time to take full advantage.

The desertions from the Republican party looked serious enough as the Liberal convention gathered at Cincinnati, May 1, 1872. Leading Indiana Democrats and newspapers encouraged the defection. A strange affection suddenly grew up among Democratic office seekers for Greeley, Charles Francis Adams, B. Gratz Brown and Carl Schurz. These latter had within a decade searched the literature of the world for villainous epithets to apply to the Democratic party and even then were running on a platform hostile to every fundamental principle of Democracy.

The Republicans, February 22, at Indianapolis, nominated Gen. Thomas M. Browne for governor, supported by a ticket of young men. The platform was national and general, commending both state and national administrations.

The Democrats, June 12, nominated Thomas A. Hendricks for governor on a platform written by the Liberal Republicans at Cincinnati, May 1. It was a battle between Morton for the senate and Hendricks for the governorship in which both won, Hendricks by a majority of 921, and Morton by a majority in the General Assembly on joint ballot of 12. Only one other Democrat, Milton B. Hopkins, for state superintendent, was elected. Hendricks was personally popular. Browne lost many Republican votes on account of his intemperance. The Republicans secured

ten of the thirteen congressmen. Thousands of Democrats felt as Senator Voorhees, that it was almost sacrilege to support Greeley. Had the Democrats boldly put out a Democratic ticket on a Democratic platform it seems they must have carried the state." It will be observed that the Liberal Republicans had been, in principle and practice, the most uncompromising in their attitude toward the Democrats. As a rule they had stood with Thaddeus Stevens in his Reconstruction policy and had opposed him in the contest for fiat money.

§ 155 GREENBACKERS

The Liberal Republican party died in its youth and innocence.²¹ Its leaders in Indiana were men of high character but as a political mistake it is unequalled in our history. Its Republican leaders dropped out of political life; its Democratic allies were not sincere and at once resumed their Democratic affiliation. It failed to touch the great political and economic issues of the day.

²¹ These facts are taken from the *Indianapolis Sentinel and Journal*, the *Logansport Pharos and Tribune*, the *Terre Haute Gazette*, the *New Albany Ledger*, and a few other papers. The platforms are given in Henry's *Platform* and McPherson's *Handbook*, Turpie's *Sketches*, Holcomb and Skinner's *Hendricks*, Foulke's *Life of Morton*, and Wallace's *Autobiography* are helpful. For the Liberal side, see Julian's *Recollections*, ch. XV; and especially his speech at the Academy of Music, Indianapolis, June 12, 1872, in his later speeches, 1-26. The Republican view is admirably set forth in Foulke's *Life of Morton*, II, ch. XII, where liberal extracts from Morton's speeches are given. The attitude of Daniel W. Voorhees best illustrates the average Democrat. His mind revolted at the thought of supporting Greeley, but there was nothing else possible. Joseph E. McDonald refused to support Greeley.

²² Julian, in *Sentinel*, Oct. 8, 1873. "A party long in power necessarily becomes corrupt; and, once corrupted, it loses the power to purify itself."

The Greenback issue—it was not a well organized political party—had its origin in the Civil war.²² The government during that struggle issues \$450,000,000 of unsupported paper money, a forced loan. Its intention was, as soon as possible, to retire this currency. The general conditions during the period following the war were not conducive to that policy. With the value of money steadily rising, the debtor class—the farmers and laborers—objected strenuously to a policy which would increase the tendency. The Greenback issue in Indiana divided the people generally along this line. There were thousands of Greenbackers in the state who never left the old parties; there were thousands more who went from the Republican to the Democratic party on this issue. The Greenback party never enjoyed the leadership of capable politicians of state-wide reputation.²³ East and west the Greenback issue divided the nation sectionally, Indiana going with the West. Though usually conservative, Indiana has since remained a western state on all economic and political issues.

The decade of the seventies in Indiana is primarily noted for the awakening of class consciousness. There had been some, but not serious, attempts earlier to organize some of the trades and professions. The typesetters, publishers, physicians and others had organized but principally along fraternal and professional rather than along protective lines. The movements of the seventies were largely protective or defensive. The railroads began to pool their interest and preserve their freight rates. At best,

²² *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 31, 1872.

²³ This was a national issue. For the national issues, see Barton, *Life of Sherman*, Woudburn, *Life of Thaddeus Stevens*; Noyes, *Forty Years of Finance*, Harper's Weekly, and Rhodes, *History of the United States*.

competition was only between points having a choice of transportation lines. Local rates were laid on the principle of collecting all the traffic would bear. With other prices falling, this soon worked a hardship. A struggle was at the time going on between the Vanderbilts and the Atlantic and Great Western railroad for control of the Bee Line railroad. This was secured by the Atlantic and Great Western which then began laying plans for the Indianapolis and St. Louis road, really the western division of the Bee Line. It was not known what power was behind the Atlantic and Great Western but the acquisition of 1,400 miles of railroad under one management was threatening.²²

The American Cheap Transportation society was organized to meet this tendency. At its meeting in New York City, May 6, 1873, F. C. Johnson, a delegate to the National Agricultural Congress, from New Albany, represented Indiana. Mr Johnson was a state deputy of the Grangers. This Cheap Freight Transportation society was made up primarily of the Convention of Producers with strength in the east and the National Farmers' association with strength in the west.²³

A convention, attended largely by congressmen, was in session at St. Louis, whose business was to solve the transportation question. There was considerable demand for the government entering the field and constructing freight roads and canals but New York put up a vigorous demur to this. The merchants of New York, the beef and pork packers, and especially the manufacturers of goods destined for western markets, were interested. An investigating committee of congress headed by Senator Wil-

²² *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 14, 1873.

²³ *New York Times*, May 6 and 7, 1873. It was claimed that ten/million bushels of corn were then rotting in the West for lack of transportation.

ham Windom, of Minnesota, was busily working on a solution of the freight question between the Atlantic seaboard and the upper Mississippi valley. This latter investigation had in mind the feasibility of opening or improving transportation routes by the Lake and St. Lawrence route, by Lake Erie and the Erie canal, Hudson river route by the James river, Kanawha canal and the Ohio river route, by the Georgia canal and Tennessee river route, by the Gulf and Mississippi river and by several railroad routes. Mr. Johnson of New Albany was a witness from Indiana before this committee. States as far away as Vermont and Illinois were busily engaged in passing laws regulating freight and passenger rates. The Indiana General Assembly of 1879 by joint resolution requested congress to take over the regulation of railroads.

In an interview, October 6, 1873, Mr. Johnson expressed his opinion that freight rates could be reduced about fifty per cent." Especially were rates exorbitant in winter when canals and rivers were closed by ice. There were no published tariffs as at present nor uniformity of rates among the roads nor over different sections of the same road.

The Indiana State Grange at its annual meeting in 1874 passed a resolution denouncing the excessive freight rates of the railroads, requesting congress and the General Assembly to pass remedial legislation and tendering its loyal support to the American Cheap Transportation society. This society was especially favorable to the opening and improvement of the waterways.²¹ The society also protested

²¹ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Oct. 30, 1873.

²² *Proceedings State Grange*, 1874, p. 30. "Resolved, That we recommend to the favorable consideration of congress the improvement of our great natural highways, the rivers, lakes and canals, through which the commerce of the grain producing

against the lavishness of congress in squandering gifts of public lands on railroad promoters. In the resolutions of 1876 the State Grange expressed its opinion that the government had ample power to fix by law passenger and freight rates on all railroads. At the same time it was recommended that the rebate business be examined to see if farmers might not get some favors that way. Their agitation it seems was bearing fruit for the preceding session of congress made an appropriation for the survey of a ship canal between Lake Michigan and the Gulf by way of the Wabash river.²⁹

Farmers drew their opinion of railroad ethics largely from the disclosures of the Erie war between Vanderbilt, Gould, Fisk and Drew. Its stories of judicial bribery and legislative corruption still smell so bad that no reputable historian will attempt to disturb them.³⁰ It is easy to see from this distance, to say nothing of the gamblers in control, that the railroads were in as much trouble as the shippers. Through freight from east to west or vice versa had to pass through the hands of a number of different corporations. There was as yet no standard gauge; there was inadequate equipment for the deluge of freight offered for shipment and finally the railroad managers had to deal with a number of governments, all subject more or less to corruption. The only things that could give relief, federal control and combination of

region of the West must pass; and that the jetty system proposed to deepen the mouth of the Mississippi river meets our hearty approval; and that we earnestly recommend congress, at its next session to order a survey for a steamship canal from the southern point of Lake Michigan to the Wabash river, at or near Lafayette, Indiana, thus connecting, if found practicable, the waters of the Mississippi valley with the Great Lakes on the North."

²⁹ *Proceedings State Grange, 1876*, p. 43.

³⁰ Myers, *Great American Fortunes*, II, 302, seq.

the railroads, were resisted by most of the people and by the state legislatures.

Equally troublesome with transportation was the currency question. Neither of the old parties had any definite solution or policy. The state Democratic platform of 1870 declared in favor of paying the national debt in greenbacks, abolishing the national banks and substituting greenbacks for national bank notes; that the quantity of currency ought to be increased, and that United States bonds and national bank stock ought to be taxed. The Republican platform of the same year declared for a financial policy which would be fair, legal and honorable, and give the people an adequate circulation of sound currency. All, of course, recognized that this indicated hopeless division on this question inside the party.

The Democratic platform of 1872 has no reference, immediate or remote, to the money question. In this it followed the precedent of the Republican platform of the same year. In 1874 the Democrats returned to their platform of 1870 declaring against national banks and for a national currency composed entirely of greenbacks. The national banks were declared to be the parents of all monopolies and thus the greatest oppressors of the people. The Republicans almost duplicated the Democratic demand, asking for free national banking and a currency issued by such banks in amount sufficient to meet all the demands of commerce. This currency, issued by federal authority, was to be distributed on the basis of population. Both parties thus in 1874 declared for fiat money.

In 1876 the Democrats fell away back to the old Jacksonian hard money theory and declared their belief "in our ancient doctrine that gold and silver are the true and safe basis for the currency." As a counter irritant for home folks who would not take

kindly to Tilden's plank in the national platform they declared against contraction, but for the gradual retirement of national bank notes and the issuing of greenbacks to replenish the volume of currency. They further pointed out how specie resumption could be effected honorably and naturally, but in the next paragraph opposed retiring any greenbacks, and in the following paragraph denounced the act providing for the resumption of specie payments January 1, 1879, as calculated to paralyze industry, create distrust of the future, turn laborers and producers out of employment, be a standing threat to business men, and declared it should at once be repealed without any condition whatever. The Republican state platform had already declared for ultimate redemption of all currency in silver and gold, but that any attempt to hasten resumption or fix a definite day by statute when resumption would take place was inexpedient. It therefore asked the repeal of the clause in the resumption law fixing the date at January 1, 1879, and after such repeal the currency should remain undisturbed, neither contracted nor expanded, being assured that the financial troubles of the country, when relieved from interference, would be speedily and permanently cured by the operation of the natural laws of trade. It was asserted that the greenbacks had been issued by Republicans in spite of the opposition of Democrats, and now it was the intention of Democrats to destroy the greenbacks and return to state and local bank issues as before the war—to "wild out currency."

In 1878 the Republicans led off in their state platform by declaring their opposition to all forms of repudiation, to any abandonment of the greenback currency, by favoring a sound currency of gold, silver and paper of equal value, receiving greenbacks in payment of customs dues, and opposing any more

financial legislation. The Democrats followed two weeks later by declaring for greenbacks as a full legal tender in payment of all debts public and private. They favored a legal rate of interest at six per cent., the remonetization of the standard silver dollar and its unlimited coinage on the same terms as that of gold, and they demanded the repeal of the Resumption act.²¹ A joint resolution of the General Assembly of 1877 also requested this."

The *State Sentinel*, organ of the Democracy, said editorially, October 17, 1873: "The incalculable importance of a restoration of specie currency begins to be comprehended by the country. Our country and our countrymen during the last fifteen years have lost uncounted millions for the want of a currency of gold and silver." The *Journal*, organ of the Republicans, next day in an elaborate editorial, October 18, 1873, outlined and advocated a free banking system in which the government would have no control over issues further than to demand sufficient guarantees as to redemption. No one had any very good remedy for the distress. As always happens each remedy hurt somebody and that person or class raised speedy objections.

These are the official declarations of the two leading parties during this period on this troublesome question. It is not necessary to point out their inconsistencies. It is doubtful if there could have been found at any time a responsible party leader who would have fully endorsed any platform. Senator Daniel W. Voorhees, who represented the mass of Democrats most consistently, was always a believer

²¹ These platforms are printed in W. E. Henry's *State Platforms*.

²² *Laws of Indiana, 1877, Joint Resolution No. 7.*

in fiat money."²² Morton was in favor of more currency in the south and west. Immediately after the war he favored retiring the greenbacks as a policy of mere honesty. When he came to believe that this would cause a financial stringency he even led the fight for the inflation bill which Grant vetoed, April 26, 1874.²³ Outside the banking and legal profession there were very few men in Indiana who favored a gold standard, retirement of greenbacks or resumption of specie payment, if by that the greenbacks were to be withdrawn. A vast majority opposed the national bank system but few had any plan to offer in its stead.

The commercial situation was likewise full of difficulties, especially for the farmers who constituted by far the largest class. In 1880 of the whole population of 1,468,095 there were 635,080 workers, of whom 331,240 were farmers, 137,281 professional men and servants, 56,432 engaged in trade and transportation, and 110,127 in manufacture and mining.²⁴ The distribution of produce which before the war had been an insignificant factor in affairs, had now become a problem to reckon with. The "middle men," as jobbers and brokers were named, seemed to the farmers to be taking an unnecessary part of the profits of in-

²² Voorhees, *Forty Years of Oratory*, I, 254. "Money is the creature and congress the creator. Gold and its alleged intrinsic value goes for naught as a circulating medium unless the coin bears the stamp of the government—a stamp more powerful than the grasp of the lion's paw or the eagle's claw in bestowing life and activity on a dead and otherwise useless material. The same official stamp on silver, or on paper, at once ennobles them to an equality with gold in purchasing power, no matter how debased, how degraded, or how valueless the silver or the paper may have become as commodities by sinister and unwise legislation."

²³ Foulke, *Life of Morton*, II, ch. XV, gives a good account of Morton's position on the currency question.

²⁴ Tenth Census of United States, 712.

dustry. In fact, few recognized any necessity for them at all. The Grangers were preparing to dispense with their services by buying and selling through their own agencies. One of the first cooperative attempts of the Indiana Grangers was the establishment of a buying agency at Indianapolis for the accommodation of all Grangers of the state. This agency was allowed three per cent. on all purchases. By this means they were said to be saving for their patrons on an average forty per cent. Sewing machines which were sold by middlemen at \$75 were purchased through the agency for \$40. Plows, mowers, reapers, threshers and household goods were purchased at a like reduction.²⁴ For the year ending November 25, 1874, the state purchasing agent reported an aggregate business of \$310,580, of which \$43,800 was for sewing machines alone. Grange cooperative stores were organized in Howard, Parke and other counties. These facts are not given for their own importance but to show what people were thinking about.

There was a general feeling of distrust among the farmers and laborers. In the General Assembly elected in 1874 there were not more than a dozen law-

²⁴ *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, Oct. 10, 1873. *Proceedings of the State Grange* 1874, p. 31. "To the members of the order we most earnestly recommend to co-operate together as counties in bulking up the product of the soil and selling wholesale to the parties who pay the highest price, and in buying we recognize the State Business Agency of the Patrons as the proper channel through which the business agents of the various counties can best supply the wants of the Grangers in all articles needed for the cultivation of the farm, and for the households, and the time is now at hand when the members of the order must see the necessity of standing by the organization and the business agent be required to give out, from time to time, such information as may be for the advancement and benefit of the members of the order."

yers and a less number who had ever sat in the house before."²⁷

The farmers knew the business men had an exchange or board of trade where they met daily and received telegraphic market reports from all parts of the world. A large part of the Indianapolis papers was given to "doings on 'change' "²⁸ The merchants standardized, products not needed in Indianapolis were sent where there was a demand. Likewise the city banks had what they termed "clearing houses" in which they met and consulted for their mutual benefit and support. These agencies by a clever use of money and influence were said to be able to elect their friends, usually their attorneys, to office, and by means of paid lobbies control them while in office.

Just while the ordinary newspapers were in disgust and dismay at the Credit Mobilier scandals, came the news that Jay Cooke and Company, bankers of Philadelphia, had closed their banking houses for liquidation.²⁹ It was known that these bankers were railroad promoters and it was not known whether the failure was real or feigned. In spite of assurance to the contrary a panic gradually spread not only over Indiana but over the nation, one month later the New Albany car works and the New Albany steam forge works closing, and the Ohio Falls iron works and the New Albany rolling mills slowing up to half time.³⁰ The Indianapolis board of trade was deserted. A

²⁷ Turple, *Sketches of My Own Times*, 222.

²⁸ For example, see *Daily Sentinel*, Oct. 10, 1873.

²⁹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 19, 1873. *Proceedings of the State Grange*, 1874, p. 11. "The failure of Jay Cooke cost the farmers of the country many millions more than Jay Cooke was ever worth."

³⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 16, 1873. For the effect of the panic on Indianapolis, see Meredith Nicholson, *The Provincial American*, 64, seq.

general run on the Indianapolis banks soon reduced them to uselessness as far as aiding the panic was concerned.⁴⁰ A letter from the economist, Amasa Walker, denouncing national banks for helping to create the panic added only more confusion to the situation.⁴¹ A series of meetings by the business men in the board of trade rooms at Indianapolis during the latter part of October and the early part of November served only to show how far apart men's minds were on the causes of the trouble.

These conditions have been detailed at some length because of their basic relation to the political history of Indiana since that time. The problems that arose during the seventies have occupied the people's attention in large measure since then. There were small clubs formed to study civil service. The Grangers started anew the demand for prohibition;⁴² for a game and fish law;⁴³ and for agricultural education. A society looking forward to election reform was in feeble life at this time. The Grangers admitted women to their lodges on equal terms with men and championed their demands for political en-

⁴⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 20, 1873.

⁴¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 24, 1873, p. 7: "They have been doing, to be sure, what was highly injurious to the public, as we now see; yet they have acted according to their charters. The fault is in the system, which is wholly a bad one, that ought never to have been inaugurated. The results are precisely what every man who knew the machinery of the national banks confidently expected. They have made immense profits—greater far than any department of industry, but they have brought the country into a very bad condition."

⁴² *Proceedings*, 1876, pp. 37, 38. "That intemperance is the greatest cause of misery, crime, and waste of health." See, also, account of the temperance state convention of the Independent Order of Good Templars, in *Journal*, Oct. 23, 1873.

⁴³ *Proceedings*, 1874, p. 33.

franchisement." Nor were they less earnest in their support of agricultural education."

One of the curious features of this forty years of political struggle and development is that most of the greater reforms have been championed first by a third party and carried into execution by one of the old parties. During the whole period the supremacy of one or the other of the old parties has been threatened by internal revolt and disruption but in each case has wisely bent to the storm and lived. The state has been fortunate in this fact. Many able men have, during the period, mistakenly urged the dissolution of one or the other of the old parties, holding them as liabilities in the work of progress. Under the prevailing plan programs have had the advantage of being studied by the public through at least two campaigns, enabling the General Assembly to adopt that which was salutary and necessary and discard the dangerous or doubtful. A political party is largely an abstraction and like a church or a state, aside from its members, can neither be corrupt nor immoral. Like other institutions it represents a vast amount of work and expense. Its destruction is a crisis in society, a revolution. As a living institution it is always changing and in no two campaigns is it the same. As an educational agency the organized political parties in Indiana rank with the churches, schools, and the press. In looking back over the pe-

⁴⁴ *Proceedings*, 1874, p. 22: "Whereas, It is plain to every member that very much of the permanency of the order and the harmonious operations of the subordinate Granges are dependent upon the proper practical recognition of the sisters, not only as voting and sitting members, but as speaking, acting and otherwise important parts of the entire working body of Patrons throughout the Union."

⁴⁵ *Proceedings*, 1876, p. 31: "We hold that one of the essential principles of the order is to educate its members thoroughly

ried it seems certain that Indiana owes a great debt to her third parties but was fortunate in always remaining in the hands of one or the other of the old traditional parties.

The reformers among the farmers and laboring classes in 1873 looked over the two old parties and found little in either that promised relief, nor is it to be understood that there was unanimity among the farmers and laborers themselves on any program proposed.

In this situation the reformers turned to the organization of a new party in which at least they might find freedom of expression and through which they might reach the public. It was charged against the old parties that if their platforms for thirty years were published they would make little else than so many columns of mutual negations and contradictions; that the only continuous and clear note was that the "outs" wanted "in" and the "ins" wanted to remain; that the Democratic party was wasting the last precious hours of its life trying to prove to the people that the Republican party was worse than itself; that the people needed a party which would not have to spend three-fourths of its energy excusing its own crimes; "if you feed corn to a hog it becomes pork, if to a steer it becomes beef, so those become who join the old parties; all the nostrums in the world fed to a sickly old man leaves him still the same sickly old man; Democracy has in every case in a generation by its endorsement chalked its victim for the sacrifice, McClellan, the Negro, Greeley, Greenback payment of bonds, each in turn received

so that they may be better prepared to meet the requirements of a successful business life on the farm, thereby placing the profession where it ought to be, on an equality with the scientific and learned professions of the land."

the Judas kiss." So reasoned the reformers concerning affiliation with the old parties."

§ 156 GREENBACK CAMPAIGNS

The organized activity of the Greenbackers in Indiana received its inspiration from some meetings held at Indianapolis between October 25 and November 14, 1873. No political results seem to have been intended but rather a social discussion of the business situation which was then bad. At the third of these meetings the natural penchant of such bodies was indulged and a set of resolutions voted. These in brief, attributed the panic to lack of a sufficient circulating medium, declared it the duty of congress to provide an elastic, uniform, regulated currency; that persons possessing government bonds should be permitted to deposit these with the United States treasurer and draw out an equal amount of greenbacks; that the depositor might, as soon as he chose, redeem his bonds by returning the currency; no interest accruing on the bonds while so deposited; and that the whole issue of legal tender notes now authorized by law be at once thrown into circulation."

This scheme soon became known over the whole country as the "Indiana Plan." Along with it James Buchanan, editor of the *Indianapolis Sun*, and E. A.

"*Indianapolis Sentinel* Oct. 8, 1873. "It is no insignificant act in one's life to break with one's party. It is still a graver act to go over to the enemy. To be received by the enemy as a deserter and put in irons in the rear of the camp is not very inviting. Hence, desertions to the enemy will always be rare, and doubly rare from the strong army to the weak one which the former has so often defeated. In joining a new party we are spared that bitterest of all doom, the swallowing of our own prejudices."

"*Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 8, 1873. In this connection, read the address of W. W. Curry, at Indianapolis, Nov. 14, 1873, in *Journal*, Nov. 15, 1873.

Olleman, editor of the *Indiana Farmer*, became known as its sponsor. The resolutions were framed by a succeeding meeting into a petition to congress, eliciting favorable comment by at least six members of congress and no doubt influencing the attitude of the Indiana delegation on the inflation bill of 1874.

In the meantime the State Grange at its Valparaiso meeting, November 27, 1873, expressed its opinion in a similar resolution. The veto of the "Inflation" bill by President Grant, generally condemned and attributed to Wall Street influence, added spirit to the movement in Indiana.⁴² In the spring of 1874 Grangers under various names held county political meetings and in some nominated and later elected local tickets. The whole tendency was for a new party and as the chief animus of a new party is directed to the party in power there was corresponding hesitation among Republican politicians and officeholders.

June 9 and 10, 1874, at Indianapolis was held the first state convention of the Independent (or Greenback) party.⁴³ The old judge who presided announced

⁴² The whole west was furious at the veto. Seldons has a President been compelled to endure more heated denunciation. See *Congressional Globe*, April 28, 1874, *seq.*; Helen J. Buck, *The Grange Movement*, ch. III, the *Indianapolis Journal*, April 22, 1874 *Terre Haute Journal*, April 23, 1874, *Terre Haute Gazette*, April 22, 1874. The *Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 23, 1874, while condemning Grant for the veto, gives him more consideration than the Republican papers. The *Sentinel* recognized the clash between Conkling and Morton, and was not sorry to see Morton, who supported the bill, defeated.

⁴³ This convention was presided over by Judge David Kilgore, one of the rare characters of Indiana history. A Kentuckian, born in 1804, a lawyer then of 44 years' practice, personally acquainted with all the governors of the state, a Whig, a Know-nothing, a People's party man, a Republican, a Greenbacker five times elected to the house, once its speaker, four years in congress. He had only a few equals then in public life.

their work as "one grand reform of the government from tail to snout." The resolutions declared against the oppression by the banks, consolidation of railroads, manufacturing monopolies, squandering the public domain, in favor of greenbacks as the only circulating paper money, to be interchangeable for government bonds, payment of the war debt as it was contracted, and condemned a score or so of official vices from riding on passes down to judges selling decisions from the bench.

There were few politicians of experience present. The Democrats as a rule encouraged the movement while the Republicans deprecated it. A state ticket was nominated and in due time defeated.²² The Democrats carried the state by about 15,000 majority while the new party cast about 16,000 votes and secured the balance of power with its three successful candidates for the state senate.

As soon as the election was over a mass convention of Greenbackers was called to meet in Indianapolis, November 26, 1874, to get in touch with similar parties in other states and prepare for the presidential campaign of 1876. E. A. Olleman, chairman of the party in the preceding campaign, took the lead in the work.

This meeting recommended a national convention to meet at Cleveland, Ohio, March 11, 1875, to perfect a national organization. A national executive committee was appointed on which nine Indiana men were placed. The political principles of this new party were those of the Independent party in Indiana in 1874, the emphasis gradually settling on the money

²² The candidates for secretary of state and superintendent of public instruction declined and those for attorney-general and auditor made no answer to their notices of nomination. An old farmer, drawing his figure from the poultry business, told their candidates refused "to sit on the nest".

question. E. A. Olleman became national chairman and T. B. Buchanan, of Indianapolis, secretary.

Greenback clubs began to appear in various parts of Indiana; one in Terre Haute was reported to have 600 members,⁸¹ the "Capital" club of Indianapolis numbering 250. Through the clubs in various parts of the state delegates to the state convention at Indianapolis, February 17, 1876, were chosen. There were upward of 350 delegates present, representing 54 counties, E. A. Olleman presiding. The platform demanded the repeal of the Specie Resumption act of January 14, 1875. The "Indiana Plan" of a currency was endorsed, and a general cleaning up of official practice promised.⁸²

On this platform Franklin Landers, of Morgan county, was nominated for governor, who at the Democratic convention April 20, 1876, also sought to be nominated governor. He had not yet accepted the Greenback or Independent nomination and when questioned virtually admitted his desire to run on both tickets. As a result the Democrats nominated James D. Williams, of Knox county. When pressed for an answer Landers declined the Greenback nomination and Anson Wolcott of White county was nominated in his place by the state central committee, May 16. Mr. Wolcott remained on the ticket until October 4, when he, too, withdrew, as he inti-

⁸¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 5, 1875.

⁸² *Indianapolis Journal and Sentinel*, Feb. 17, 1876. "We, the Independent people of Indiana, being impressed with the necessity of a unity of action to secure a reform in the administration of the affairs of the State, the better to secure relief to the tolling masses against the extravagance and corruptions that have entered into every department of government and to secure such a radical change of the financial policy as shall insure to the benefit of all classes of American citizens alike, do hereby make declaration of our principles and invite the co-operation and support of all true men."

mated, in the interests of the Republican party. The state central committee thereupon, over the protest of the state chairman, placed Henry W. Harrington on the ticket.*

The Republicans were not hopeful. The Greenbackers were drawing heavily from the party, so much so that Godlove S. Orth, of Lafayette, who had been nominated for governor by the Republicans, February 22, withdrew, August 2, and Gen. Benjamin Harrison was substituted by the state central committee in his place. Orth had supported the specie resumption bill in congress and this record was defeating him. On February 24, a convention of workingmen was held at Indianapolis and on May 2, the Socialists met, listening to an address by Peter J. McGuire of New Haven.

Such was the remarkable contest of 1876. There was little unanimity or cordiality in or out of any party, neither were there any bitter personalities. General Harrison made a hard canvass and received the admiration and support of his party. "Blue Jeans" Williams was the idol of the farmers, who stood by him loyally. His personality was strong and attractive. Then in his sixty-eighth year, he was one of the last prominent examples of the pioneer farmer. He had been a farmer in the state since its admission, lacking two years. The frequency of his name among the prizewinners at the state fairs shows that he was skillful. When the history of agriculture is written his name will be among the four first. During his long public service of more than thirty years he was their champion. In personal

* There were ugly charges of collusion and bribery against Wolcott and Olleman, but they were, perhaps, gratuitous. It would have been foolish politics to try to buy out a ticket so near election day.

appearance and dress he was somewhat like Lincoln, whom he exceeded one year in age, but there their resemblance stops." He was elected over Harrison by 5,139 majority, receiving 213,219 votes, Harrison 208,080, and Harrington 12,710. For President the vote stood Tilden 213,526, Hayes 207,971, and Cooper 9,533." The Republicans, however, controlled the

¹⁴ The following personal description from the *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 7, 1878, is given to show the character of campaign literature and a fairly good caricature of the governor. It was written without animosity, for the governor had few personal enemies:

"He is a difficult man to describe. Abraham Lincoln was an Admiral Crichton in comparison and Richard Smith would be like an Apollo Belvidere alongside of him. The English language would never recover from the shock of a detailed and accurate description of his general appearance, and it would take Uncle John Robinson in his most energetic and capable moments to properly emphasize his political points and peculiarities. He is as handsome as a black india-rubber baby drawn out to its greatest possible length and its face pinched out of shape. His head, in shape, is of the sugar-loaf order, and is covered with a short, stubby growth of bristling iron grey hair. His only whiskers is a little bunch of the same description of hair, grown upon his 'Adam's apple' and sticking out between the hard yellow starched ends of his cotton sideboards, that serve on either side of his head to support the heavy dewlap of his enormous ears. His eyes are small and closely set against the high, narrow bridge of his long, sharp, inquisitive nose. His mouth looks as if it had been put on warm and ran all over the lower part of his face before it got set, and it opens like the opening of navigation in spring. Looking him full in the face gives one the idea of a narrow, loaded hay barge, with broadside sails set, coming down stream with the front cabin doors wide open. His long, lean legs part with each other in disgust at the hips and pursue separate and diverging paths to the knees, when negotiations for reconciliation are entered into, which takes place finally at the ends of the toes of two great feet, which join each other lovingly, while the heels still remain estranged and keep as far away from each other as possible."

¹⁵ *Documentary Journal*, 1878, I, Secretary of State's Report.

General Assembly and after the presidency went to Hayes the Democratic victory in Indiana was a mere matter of holding the state offices.⁴⁴

The political struggle, begun in 1873, continued on after the election of 1876. The Democrats of Indiana were considerably disappointed over the results, but the Greenbackers, and it seems a large majority of the voters of Indiana, regardless of parties, having strong sympathies for a greater volume of currency, had little to lose in the defeat of Tilden. The Democrats of 1878 committed grand larceny on the Greenback platform and pleaded in justification that the Republicans two weeks earlier had taken everything else.⁴⁵ The Greenbackers, May 22, put a full state ticket in the field with Henley James, of Grant, worthy master of the state Grange, at its head. This was an excellent ticket, representing many of the best elements of the state citizenship. Many of the principles of the Grangers were incorporated in their platform, which was denounced for its tendency to communism. Such "Red Republican" doctrines as the legal safe-guarding of the lives of miners, state supervision of elections, punishment for vote buying, protection of labor from monopoly, industrial justice enforced by statute, were said to be in the minds of these innocent-looking farmers.⁴⁶ It should be stated that the campaign was almost en-

⁴⁴ O. B. Carmichael, in *Indiana Magazine of History*, IX 276, has the best written account of the campaign of 1876. For the Greenback party, see Elizabeth Banta, "The Greenback Party in 1876," *Ms.*

⁴⁵ The Republican platform, June 6, 1878, declared for "No abandonment or appreciation of a greenback currency. A sound and stable currency of gold, silver, and paper of the same value."

⁴⁶ Third party platforms were not printed by W. E. Henry in his *State Platforms*, and must be sought in the *Sentinel* and *Journal* on the day following the conventions.

tirely on the issue of fiat money and that the Republican party in spite of its ramshackle platform followed the lead of General Harrison who, in the keynote speech, took a bold stand against fiat money and inflation. From this time the Republican party gradually but steadily progressed in that direction till by the end of the century it stood flatly for a single gold standard. The Democrats carried the state by substantial pluralities though not nearly by majorities, for the Greenbackers polled about 40,000 votes and elected a congressman. The Democrats controlled the General Assembly and sent Daniel W. Voorhees to the United States senate to take the place left vacant by the death of Senator Morton, November 1, 1877.

Since 1856 Morton had been to Indiana what David was to Israel. No Republican challenged his leadership and no Democrat could withstand his attack or break his grip on the people. Indianians have achieved distinction in many fields and have filled creditably almost every political office in the United States, but in the popular mind Morton, the war governor, is still the greatest of them all. He was not as great a lawyer as Harrison, not as great an orator as Hannegan, Voorhees or Henry S. Lane; few of the state's institutions owe anything to his thought, and he represents no class; but as a governor he stands above them all.²²

²² The best life of Morton is by William Dudley Foulke see, also, the Indianapolis *Journal's* *Life of Morton* (1877), by Charles M. Walker. Neither is critical or impartial.

CHAPTER XXX



§ 157 SALT

The earliest mining in Indiana was undertaken to supply the settlers with salt. Many traditions have come down from pioneer times of the difficulties and dangers encountered in securing a very meager supply. Blue Licks and Big Bone Licks in Kentucky became death traps for early Kentuckians, lured there to boil salt and murdered from ambush by lurking Indians. Likewise the Ohio Saline springs near what is now Shawneetown, Illinois, was a resort for the early settlers of Indiana. So risky did it become for the settlers of southern Indiana to follow the forest trails to the salt springs at Shawneetown that Governor Harrison ordered the settlers to go in parties and ask him for an escort of rangers. This spring was the main reliance of Indiana for twenty-five years. For unknown ages animals had resorted to this famous spring, where, by their continuous "licking," they had removed the dirt to the depth of six to ten feet over an area of several acres.¹

¹ John Bradbury, *Travels*, 283. *Early Western Travels*, V, 278. The following quotation shows the situation in southwestern Indiana before the War of 1812. Indians continually lurked along the "salt road," robbing and murdering. Cockrum, *Pioneer History*, 216. "This route is known by some as the Salt Route. Salt has become so scarce and high priced that a number of settlers south of White river have petitioned the Governor for an escort of soldiers to protect them whilst on the trail and at the salt works west of the Wabash river." This is a quotation from a letter written by Governor Harrison at Vincennes, Sept. 12, 1807, to Capt. William Hargrove, commanding rangers.

When Indiana became a state the national government, by act of April 19, 1816, gave to the prospective state all the salt springs and enough land surrounding each to enable the settlers to cut wood and boil the salt.¹ When commerce began on the Ohio the salt was obtained from the Kanawha salt wells in western Virginia. The Michigan salt wells were not opened till a short time before the Civil war. Meantime salt for the northern part of the state came by way of the lakes from New York. Freight rates were high and salt costly and scarce. The people on the Wabash complained in 1829 about the high prices. A meeting of protest was held at Vincennes, August 8, 1829, and a committee of three men was appointed to go to Kanawha and buy a boatload of salt for the community.²

Much earlier than this, in 1815, William McFarland, founder of New Lexington, Scott county, had opened a salt well, having dug down 400 feet. McFarland was president of a large trading company which soon broke up and he was compelled to leave the country.³

Evidences of salt springs or mines were watched for carefully by the settlers. In Fulton township, Fountain county, the first hunters found salt springs. Norbourn Thomas entered the land in 1829 and at once began boring a salt well. The well produced as much as twenty barrels of salt per day. By going 500 feet deep he was able to get water which produced fifty bushels. As they went deeper the quantity of salt increased. For many years these wells produced salt for a large neighborhood. The building of the

¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, III, 289. This is the enabling act.

² *Western Sun*, Aug. 15, 1829. They called the salt business a "bloodsucking monopoly".

³ *Niles' Register*, Nov. 11, 1815.



MINERALS OF INDIANA

Wabash and Erie canal about 1850 brought cheap salt from the east and stopped its manufacture at Lodi. These waters were said to contain medicinal properties also of great value.⁶

On Salt creek in Franklin county a number of salt wells were sunk between 1825 and 1840. Scarcely any tradition of their operation remains.⁷ The early hunters in the hills of Monroe county found springs of salt water and named the stream into which they flowed Salt creek. In 1823 some men erected huts there and began boiling salt. The Saltworks, as the place was called, became widely known. When the township was organized it was named Saltcreek. Later wells were sunk but no great amount of salt produced.⁸ Still farther north on Salt creek in Brown county were two widely-known salt wells, called Jackson's Lick and Howe's Lick from the names of the men who opened up salt wells there in the early twenties. These wells produced as much as 2,500 bushels annually, some of which sold as high as eight dollars per bushel. These are only a few of the wells sunk on Salt creek in the early days.⁹ South of the National road, throughout the hill country, there were salt springs, salt wells, or "licks" in almost every county. The best known of these are the health resorts of West Baden and French Lick, both of which were originally salt springs. As late as 1870 E. H. Golden and his neighbors in the northern edge of Crawford county were boiling salt. One well produced 1,600 gallons of brine per day, of which eighty gallons produced a bushel of salt. This was boiled

⁶ *History of Fountain County*, 1881, 421.

⁷ *History of Franklin County*, 1915, p. 75. There is a story that the wells were opened by Benjamin McCarty in 1803 to supply the Indian trade.

⁸ *History of Monroe County*, 1884, p. 636.

⁹ *History of Brown County*, 1884, p. 717.

in sixteen kettles each holding 100 gallons. Mr. Benham was making twelve barrels of salt per day at a cost of seventeen and one-half cents per bushel.⁹ In Vanderburg county on Big Pigeon in 1822 a salt well was sunk to a depth of about 300 feet. A valuable flow of brine was found but later when its depth was increased to 500 feet the water was mixed with other properties which spoiled the salt, but the water was used for its medicinal properties for many years. It was known as Evansville Mineral Water.¹⁰

Considerable time was spent in early days hunting gold and silver along the edge of the glacial drift, where the streams had washed an occasional particle from these ancient beds. This was especially true in Brown, Fountain and Vermilion counties. Findings of small amounts gave rise to fabulous reports and traditions but no gold or silver ore worth while has ever been discovered.

§ 158 GEOLOGICAL SURVEYS

The Assembly of 1835 instructed the governor to correspond with the governors of Ohio and Kentucky concerning a geological survey of the three states. This interest in geology was directly due to the work then being done by William Maclure of Philadelphia, for many years associated with the Owens at New Harmony. Governor Noble corresponded with the other governors as requested but without securing their cooperation.¹¹ The Assembly of 1836 was not disconcerted by the failure of cooperation by the other states and by act of February 6, 1837, authorized the governor to appoint a geologist at a salary of \$1,500, and expenses, to make a "complete and

⁹ *Geological Survey of Indiana*, 1870, p. 140.

¹⁰ *House Journal*, 1838, p. 201.

¹¹ *Senate Journal*, 1836, p. 21.

minute geological survey of the whole state." He was especially charged to communicate to the Assembly any "remarkable discoveries" he should make, there being a lurking belief that valuable gold or silver mines would be found among the southern hills.¹²

The governor in pursuance of this act appointed David Dale Owen state geologist. Mr. Owen went to work at once. In the spring and summer of 1837 he examined the banks of the Ohio from the mouth of the Wabash to the mouth of the Miami. He then hastily traveled over the counties south of the National road, excepting Greene, Daviess, Martin and Dubois, which were visited at the beginning of the fall excursion.

During the fall of 1837 western Indiana, north of the National road, was examined. The principal purpose of the survey was to determine the mineral resources of the state and this, according to popular ideas of that time, kept them in the hill country.

The season of 1838 was spent in a more detailed examination of the field already covered in an effort to determine definitely the coal areas, their availability for mining, prevalence of limestones suitable for building material, kinds and values of accompanying sandstones, whether, as was the case in Tennessee, the coal was accompanied by valuable beds of iron ore, whether the fire clays of Perry county continued to the north, and whether there was promise of extensive salt wells. Dislocated specimens of copper, lead and other ores had been picked up at various places and it was desired especially to find whence these specimens came. These excursions thus took on all the interest of prospecting for mines in a new country.¹³

¹² *Laws of Indiana, 1836, ch. LXV.*

¹³ *House Journal, 1838, p. 126.*

Mr. Owen reported that the coal areas of Indiana were a part of a huge basin including western Kentucky and southern Illinois. The area in Indiana was found to be almost entirely west of the Second Principal meridian, the eastern boundary line crossing the National road at Putnamville, touching the southeast corner of Montgomery county, crossing the Wabash at Independence and reaching the state line at the north line of Vermilion county. The area in Indiana was estimated at 7,740 square miles. He reported that the best coal was that which cropped out near the state line. The layers, of which some six or eight were detected, dipped slightly to the west, No. 1 being the eastern or deepest vein.

The closer examination of the iron ores was disappointing, for the most part appearing too impure to be worked with profit. The principal deposits were found on Brouillet's creek in Vermilion; on the Wabash, and on Coal creek in Fountain; on Sugar and Raccoon creeks in Parke; on El and White rivers in Clay and Owen; on Pine creek in Warren; and on Anderson in Perry. Besides these there were valuable iron ores near Richmond, and bog iron in Greene, Randolph, Hamilton, Wabash, Allen, Elkhart, Laporte, Pulaski, Huntington, Miami, Tippecanoe, Carroll, St. Joseph and Fulton. None of these was such as to warrant him in inviting capitalists to move to the state.

The stone seemed to offer better inducements to quarrymen. On the Muscatituck, around Vernon, were excellent beds of limestone. In Perry and Harrison counties were good sandstone. There was scarcely a county in the state but had good stone for lime and cement.²⁴

²⁴ The reports of David D. Owen were published in the *Documentary Journal* of 1837, and reprinted in the *Documentary Journal* of 1838. There is no pagination in either volume. The

The law of 1836 was to expire at the end of two years unless re-enacted. The pinching times of 1837 took all the enthusiasm out of the Assembly and nothing further was done in this line by the state for a generation.

At a meeting of the state board of agriculture, January 6, 1854, Governor Wright gave notice that he would propose to the board that it procure the services of a good geologist to make a survey of the state. In accordance with the authorization of the board, Dr. R. T. Brown was employed at a salary of \$500 to make a partial examination of the state, reporting especially on iron ores, coal, timber, water power, etc.

With these general directions Mr. Brown continued the work begun by David Dale Owen. It was hoped the report would aid the farmers with some definite ideas as to the character of the soil and also by a report on mineral resources induce capital to come to the state. Some of Mr. Brown's conclusions will enable the reader to judge of his work. From east to west he divided the tilted strata into three broad divisions. The first or Lower Silurian extended west about as far as the western edge of Wayne and the middle of Ripley. This was characterized as the Blue Shell, or Cincinnati limestone. The second stratum he called the Cliff Rock, or Niagara limestone, or Upper Silurian, bounded roughly by a line from the Falls by way of Columbus and Indianapolis to Monticello in White county. The fourth was a sandstone stratum of Devonian origin. The fifth was the Carboniferous group and included the coal areas with a narrow strip along the eastern border of the coal field. All these strata are over-

second report was published in *House Journal*, 1858, p. 125. The first report was republished in the *Documentary Journal* of 1853.

whelmed about the National road by the glacial drift which the old geologists called a diluvium. The chief practical value, as the geologist thought, of this division of the state, was to determine the kinds of soil which prevailed in each section.

The Silurian or first stratum, he reported, contained no mineral and it was useless to seek for it. Some quarries had been opened at Marble Hill, twelve miles below Madison, which were commercially worth while.

The Cliff rock of the second stratum had been quarried along the Wabash from Huntington to Lafayette, the bed of the river for one hundred miles resting on this layer of limestone. The locks of the Wabash and Erie canal and many of the buildings along its course in the canal towns were constructed of this stone. The principal quarries on the upper Wabash were at Georgetown, which furnished much of the building stone for Lafayette; at Logansport, where was obtained the stones for Logansport buildings; Stearns Fisher's quarry four miles below Wabash; and several lesser local quarries on the Mississinewa and Salamonie. This stone soon crumbled under the stress of the weather. White river between Anderson and Muncie and Fall creek at Pendleton have exposed this rock also but it has not been used to any extent. In the southern part of the state the stone is of a better quality and has stood the tests of the weathering successfully. The quarries at Vernon, Sand Creek near Greensburg, and Flat Rock near St. Omar, were worked in the early thirties. Near Greensburg is a variety that was widely used in the early days for tombstones and small monuments. The old courthouse at Louisville, at that time a very fine structure, was built of the Magnesian variety of Cliff rock. It enjoyed a reputation in the fifties and sixties similar to that of Bedford stone at present.

At Sand Creek, Clifty and Flat Rock was obtained the finest article of flag stones to be had in the west.

The lime and cement made from this rock found an eager market from Louisville to New Orleans. Louisville lime, made at Utica, Indiana, the best known, was a standard with builders. On both sides of the Wabash from above Huntington to the foot of the rapids at Lafayette one can yet see the remains of the scores of lime pits active in the forties and fifties. Thousands of barrels of this lime were shipped, in white oak barrels made from the timber growing near, to the southern market each year. The usual mode of transportation was by flatboats.

Between the Cliff rock and the Mountain limestone was a narrow stratum of sandstone which the geologist of 1853 called "Chemung." It is a belt about twenty miles wide lying just at the east edge of the Knobs and forming the base of this ridge. Some few attempts had been made to quarry this stone but with the building of the Salem railroad the "White River" limestone took its place. The New Albany Branch bank was built of this sandstone.

In the stratum which was called the Mountain limestone traversed south of Greencastle almost exactly by the present Monon railroad, quarries were already opened at Harnistown, White river (Driftwood), Mount Tabor and at several points in Putnam county. Mr. Ewing, who was filling a contract at White river for building the custom house at Louisville, was working what was called the coarse grained or light gray stone. This was the Bedford stone, the only reference in this report which differentiates it from the Mitchell stone.¹⁵ The Mount Tabor quar-

¹⁵ *Transactions of the Indiana Agricultural Society, 1853, p. 312.* "Blocks, squared and ready for delivery, were lying at the quarry some of which were three feet on the surface and 14 feet long. The present face of the quarry, besides several thinner

ries (near Gosport) were said to furnish good stone and capable of a very fine white polish. He predicted a great future for their quarries as soon as railroads east and west were constructed.

In the coal field only one stratum of stone attracted the geologist's attention. This was the New red sandstone, as he termed it, in Perry county. There the Cannelton cotton mill company had erected a factory building five stories high, 287 feet long, 65 feet wide with towers 106 feet high entirely of this material.¹⁶ This same sandstone is found on Sugar creek near the feeder dam of the canal in Parke county, near Montezuma and also at Williamsport. This he thought would soon be transported in larger quantities on the canal.¹⁷

Hidden away in the Mansfield sandstone cropping out in the northwest corner of Orange county are some beds of first-class whetstone. This stone was discovered by Joel Charles, the first settler of French Lick, about 1810. Hunters and settlers came on long journeys to secure stones. A quarry was

strata, exposes one stratum of eight feet in thickness without a seam, or the slightest fault. By means of wedges blocks may be split; its softness when fresh from the quarry, its beautiful whiteness when dry, its durability and great strength render it all that could be desired as a stone for building purposes."

¹⁶ *Transactions of Indiana Agricultural Society*, 1853, p. 322.

"Exposure to the atmosphere has hardened the surface of the blocks, and I think that time will make but little impression on that surface. Many private residences in and about Cannelton have been built of the same material lately, and it is found to be cheaper than brick or even wood, when the stone is procured near the site of the building. This fact, once known, will enable the towns of the southwestern portion of the state to change their style of building to a great advantage, both in appearance and real value."

¹⁷ Mr. Brown's report is in *Transactions of Indiana Agricultural Society*, 1853, pp. 290-332. There are considerable data concerning the coal mines.

opened as early as 1825, the rough stones being transported down to the village of Hindostan where they were cut into proper sizes and shipped to New Orleans. The name of the little village of Hindostan has clung ever since to these whetstones. The quarries are still operated."

Beyond this one "reconnaissance," Dr. Brown does not seem to have done any work. The Assembly of 1859 appropriated \$5,000 to be used by the state board of agriculture in making a complete geological survey of all parts of the state. The board had a special meeting at New Albany, May 4, 1859, in order that the work might proceed at once. The position was offered to Dr. David Dale Owen, who accepted. Dr. Owen, who was busy at the time finishing some similar work for Kentucky and Arkansas, turned the preliminary part of the work over to his brother, Prof. Richard Owen. Before finishing the Arkansas reports David Dale Owen died at his home at New Harmony, November 13, 1860.¹⁸ Richard Owen succeeded his brother and continued the work. Professor Owen had the assistance of Dr. Robert Peter, professor of chemistry, Lexington, Kentucky, in soil analysis; of Professor Leo Lesquereux, of Columbus, Ohio, a fossil botanist, in surveying the coal fields, and of Prof. Joseph Lesley, a topographical engineer.

The plan of the work was to make a hurried trip to each county during the fall of 1859 to secure samples of soil, ores and rocks from each, to be analyzed

¹⁸ *Indiana Geological Report*, 1885, p. 838.

¹⁹ The Owen brothers were distinguished scholars, educated at Hofweyl, Switzerland, the universities of Glasgow and London. *Knoxville and Its Men*, 318. See, also, *Agricultural Reports*, 1859, p. LXXXV, for a letter from Richard Owen, offering David Dale Owen's magnificent geological collection and laboratory to the state as the basis of an agricultural college.

in their laboratory at New Harmony during the winter. During the same time Professor Lesley made a topographical survey of the cannel coal field of Perry county and constructed a table of altitudes for the state. This report was published in 1862 and for many years was the only text books on Indiana geology available.*

The first chapter is devoted to a popular explanation of geology, as far as it pertains to Indiana. This had been preceded by a number of articles in the *Indiana Farmer* by Professor Owen, discussing the general application of the principles of his subject to agriculture. The second chapter of the *Report*, by far the larger part of it, is devoted to a special description of the physical resources of each county. The counties are arranged for this in geological groups, the Lower Silurian, Upper Silurian, Devonian, Sub-Carboniferous Sandstone, Sub-Carboniferous Limestone, Coal Measures, and Drift or Quaternary, the geological formation of the county, the resulting soil, quarries and ores, timber and vegetation, mineral springs and waters, and finally what might be expected from each in the way of crops, drainage, soil and healthfulness. Chapter three is the general physical geography of the state, in itself, in detail, and in relation to the surrounding valley.

Professor Lesquereux spent five weeks studying the coal veins and his report forms a kind of miner's handbook for Indiana. He analyzed the various seams of coal, indicating the peculiar formation and lay of each vein as well as its value for manufacturing purposes. Professor Peters analyzed samples of soils from thirty-three counties. Many farmers, es-

* *Report of a Geological Reconnaissance of Indiana, 1858-1860.* David Dale Owen and Richard Owen. Very similar to this is Lesley's *Manual of Coal and its Topography*, published about this time.

pecially in the southeastern quarter of the state, were experiencing a gradual failing of their soils."¹¹

This survey was stopped short by the exigencies of war. No work was done after 1860 till 1869 although the state board of agriculture petitioned the Assembly of 1860 for further funds to prosecute the work.¹² The matter was referred to occasionally by the governors but other more pressing matters intervened. In his annual message of 1869 Governor Conrad Baker asked that a permanent office be established and our present department of geology resulted.¹³

The newly created office was placed under the general supervision of the board of agriculture, although the governor was to appoint the geologist for a term of two years. His business was to promote agriculture, mining, arts and manufacture. The museum was turned over to his charge as a place where the

¹¹ The following quotation from the *Report*, page 344, indicates the purpose in the minds of the leading farmers: "Such a process as this by which the land would be constantly kept up to the height of fertility and would annually yield abundant crops without any diminution of its richness, would be the perfection of agriculture. Such a system is perfectly practicable in an agricultural community where the chemical nature of soils, of manures, and of vegetable and animal products have been studied and understood. The path of improvement in modern agriculture, therefore, lies in this direction, and it is the duty of our enterprising farmers to prepare themselves to pursue it, by the scientific study of their profession, and that of states and communities liberally to aid progress in this pathway."

¹² *Agricultural Reports*, 1860, p. xliii.

¹³ *House Journal*, 1869, p. 62. By act of March 5, 1869, the governor had been directed to provide a room in the capitol to keep specimens of soils, ores, fossils, maps, etc., gathered by the state board of agriculture. This work had scarcely begun when the room was taken for military purposes. In January, 1869, the supreme court vacated its room, and this was fitted up by order of the governor as a geological museum. Such was the beginning of our present tiny state museum.

results of his work might be kept for inspection."²¹ By an act of April 14, 1881, the department of geology and natural history was created. The geologist was to be appointed by the governor for a term of four years. An annual appropriation of \$5,000 was made to carry on the work, the duties remaining about the same as before.

§ 159 IRON MINES AND FOUNDRIES

It will have been noticed that Governor Baker referred to the promising iron industry in Indiana. It hardly seems possible that so late as 1870 Indiana had visions of rivaling Pennsylvania and West Virginia in the iron industry. The hope was not justified at that time but from 1830 to 1875 Indiana furnaces produced a large part of the pig iron used in its home manufactories.

Most famous of Indiana furnaces was the St. Joseph iron works laid out by A. M. Hurd in 1833 and chartered in 1835.²² A dam was built across the St. Joseph river in 1835 and a bridge in 1837. The name of the town was changed to Mishawaka in 1839, although the St. Joseph iron works continued as a separate corporation. It got its ore from the bog mine south of town. This ore gave out in 1856 and the furnace blew out.²³

At Logansport R. S. J. Green & Co. established a furnace at the canal lock four miles above town in 1856, hauling bog iron ore from White county. They used an old Catalan forge and almost half the metal was lost. The output was 100 tons per month, but the cost of hauling was so much that it ran only about

²¹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1880, ch. XXIII.

²² *Laws of Indiana*, Local, 1834, ch. XX.

²³ Brief accounts of these old companies are given in the county histories of St. Joseph. Index.

a year and a half. A few miles north of Rochester on the Michigan road James Moore established a furnace and it ran for some years after 1840. Charcoal was burned in the neighboring woods and used for fuel. It employed seventy-five men when in full blast. The output was all used in the neighboring counties.¹⁷

At Lima, in Lagrange county, about 1850 a forge was operated, the ore coming from Pigeon river a short distance west. The Lake Shore railroad, when it was built, enabled the settlers to get the bar iron cheaper and the forge was abandoned after a few years.

Much more recent were the Vigo iron company, 1869, the Wabash iron company, 1873, and the Phoenix foundry, 1865, all of Terre Haute. These furnaces were supplied only in small part from local ores, the larger part coming from Missouri.¹⁸ The first-named continued till 1895, being the last of the pioneer furnaces to go out of blast. On Brouillet's creek, six miles west of Clinton, an iron furnace was set up perhaps as early as 1840. It was known up and down the river for many miles. David Dale Owen in his survey of 1838 called Brouillet's creek the finest prospect for iron he had seen in Indiana, but he made no mention of the Indiana furnace there.¹⁹ It had evidently not yet been established. When Lesquereux visited the locality in 1860 it was in full blast under the management of E. B. Sparks & Co. It had a capacity of ten tons per day.²⁰

¹⁷ *Histories of Cass County. Index.*

¹⁸ *History of Vigo County. 1880, p. 144.*

¹⁹ *House Journal, 1838, p. 218.*

²⁰ *Geological Reconnaissance of Indiana, 1882, p. 169:* "The well-known Indiana Furnace is in this county, and has been in operation 23 years. It is owned by Messrs. E. B. Sparks & Co., who employ 75 hands, using the hot blast, and obtaining best

David D. Owen reported also that the Sugar Creek foundry in Parke county, six miles below the "Narrows," was using great quantities of coal. He referred to the foundry a number of times as if it were a landmark in the vicinity.²¹ Neither Lesqueux, 1860, nor Cox, 1869, who examined the district, gave any details of this furnace.

Clay county gave greatest promise of a large mining and manufacturing industrial center. The Brazil furnace "blowed in" in 1867, backed by Indianapolis and Brazil men. It soon fell into the hands of Garlick and Collins under whom it became a valuable mill. Its cost complete was about \$250,000, it used seventy tons of coal per day, forty-five tons of ore, sixteen tons of limestone, yielded twenty-eight tons of fair grade "pig" or foundry iron, and employed regularly 150 men.

The Lafayette blast furnace, owned by the Lafayette iron company, began work, May 20, 1869, on a branch of Otter creek, one and one-half miles south of Brazil. It was very similar to the Brazil furnace, though smaller, yielding about eighteen tons of iron per day.

The Western iron company had two furnaces located at Knightsville; one was fired first in 1867, the other in 1869. They were run by the same engine.

from the gases given off by the combustion of metal and the charcoal. They pay \$1.50 per ton for ore delivered. It is found abundantly, of several varieties, in all the hills around, as well as close by their furnace, over a five-foot vein of coal. By mixing several ores, previously roasted to expel the sulphur, they often avoid the necessity of fluxing with limestone, although when necessary it can be obtained near there. They can run ten tons of metal per day, using twenty-five tons of ore and drawing twice in twenty-four hours; they ship the iron on the Terre Haute railroad, at Sandford, seven miles distant. Frequently they manufacture also their own firebrick."

²¹ *House Journal*, 1838, p. 217.

Together they turned out about forty-five tons of pig iron per day. The Planet furnace company, owned by the Indianapolis rolling mills, which went into blast in November, 1867, was situated near Harmony on a spur of the Terre Haute and Indianapolis railroad. It furnished about fifteen tons of pig iron daily to the Indianapolis mills. These furnaces used Missouri and Lake Superior ore, largely, in combination with local ores. Brazil Block coal was used exclusively for smelting. These have all blown out long ago.

Greene county was represented in this early era by one furnace, the Richland, located two or three miles southeast of Bloomfield. It was built by Andrew Downey in 1841. The furnace stack was forty-five feet high, charcoal was used for fuel, local ores were used entirely and ten tons of iron produced daily. Originally intended merely to supply local trade, it was found profitable at one time to haul the iron to Mitchell and ship it to Louisville over the New Albany and Salem railroad. This furnace was operated till 1858, about eighteen years.

Nearby in the edge of Monroe county was the "Old Virginia" or "Cincinnati" furnace, opened about 1840 by a man from Virginia named Randall Ross. It used ore hauled in by the farmers of the neighborhood and charcoal made nearby for fuel. The furnace was on Indian creek near the west line of the county. All the output was used locally, the larger part by the Seward forges at Bloomington.

In Martin county a furnace was established in 1870 at Ironton, less than a mile east of Shoals. This, the Nelson furnace company operated successfully three or four years, employing two or three hundred

men, until an incompetent superintendent wrecked the mill.⁴²

§ 160 COAL

June 23, 1765, George Croghan made the following entry in his *Journal*: "On the south side of the Onabache runs a big bank in which are several fine coal mines." Croghan was at Oniatanon at the time, about three or four miles below the present city of Lafayette.⁴³ The early government surveys in their field-notes made frequent references to outcropping veins of coal. One of the earliest commercial coal mining ventures in the state was by a company of New Englanders of whom Seth Hunt, Samuel J. Gardner and James T. Hobart were the active members. This company, which was chartered by the state, December 23, 1837, to mine stone coal at Coal Haven, Perry county, purchased about a township of land on the Ohio river where Cannelton now is. There the company and its successors mined coal, principally for the use of passing steamers, for over half a century.⁴⁴

David Thomas, who traveled up the Wabash in 1816, found a coal mine at the settlement on Turman's creek. The coal had been taken from the bed of the creek at low water and was evidently used by the local blacksmith.⁴⁵ Such mining was not uncom-

⁴² A good resume of the iron industry, by Charles W. Shannon, is found in *Indiana Geological Report*, 1907.

⁴³ *Early Western Travels*, I, 145. The location of the coal beds in the state has been noticed in connection with the work of the Owens and the early geological surveys.

⁴⁴ De la Hunt, *Perry County*, 36.

⁴⁵ "In this neighborhood we passed a coal mine, which had recently been opened, though the work had been but partially performed. The stratum is laid bare to the depth of four or five feet. As the excavation is made in the channel of a small brook, the torrent, by removing the loose earth doubtless led to this discovery. All the strata of this fossil that we have seen in the

men in Knox and Sullivan counties in the early days. In the thirties flatboat-loads of coal were shipped from Wabash ports to New Orleans where it competed successfully with Pittsburgh coals.

Coal mining on an extensive scale is contemporaneous and inseparable from the railways. There have been no commercial mines worth mentioning without railroad connections. In 1854 the Evansville and Terre Haute railroad cross Sullivan county. That year Hanchett and Kelly opened a coal mine at Farmersburg. The mine was three miles from the track and a wooden railroad was built to connect the mine and the main road. The development in Sullivan county was gradual but steady until in 1906 when, with 37 mines, it led all the counties of the state.

The Sherwood mine, where the city of Linton now is, was worked as early as 1840. The Thorpe, Pewee, Griffin, and, much later, the Island City mines were opened, but it was as late as 1893, especially with the building of the Indiana Southern railroad direct to Chicago, that the Linton coal field opened up.

In Daviess county coal mining began on a commercial scale with the completion of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad in 1857. In fact workmen on that road at a deep cut near Washington disclosed the fact that the town stood over a valuable coal bed. Several mines were opened between 1858 and 1860. This coal soon displaced the cordwood on the locomotives of the railroad. At Cannelburg, a short time

western country have appeared near the surface, and it would not surprise me if it should be brought forth in a thousand places where the shovel and the pickaxe have never yet been employed."—David Thomas, *Travels Through the Western Country* (1816), 171.

later, the Buckeye Cannel coal company sunk a shaft and began marketing coal.

The coal mines of Vermilion county have been developed since 1887, though mines had been worked there for neighborhood use for three-quarters of a century before. The Norton Creek mines, opened in 1884, by 1887 were employing 300 men; in 1910 there were 1042 men employed. The Bunsen company, owned by the United States Steel corporation, is the largest, its plant costing \$3,500,000.

Prof. E. T. Cox, state geologist, was largely responsible for opening up the Brazil mines. In 1853 some men loaded a car from coal obtained on the surface at Otter creek, took it to Indianapolis and disposed of it. However, before the field could be developed, the war delayed the business. The coal soon won a reputation not only for ordinary purposes, for which it had been used since 1840, but especially for smelting. By 1884 there were 3,000 miners in Brazil and a monthly output of 5,000 cars. One railroad after another tapped the field until the whole neighborhood is now a network of tracks with lines running from the field in all directions.⁶⁶

The coal mining industry grew up in such a way that little notice was taken of it before the Civil war. There was such an abundance of firewood even in close reach of the largest cities that coal found little market. The only considerable factories were saw mills, which furnished their own fuel. There were many small mines, each supplying a few local blacksmiths in the neighborhood, but no such thing in Indiana as a coal supply or a coal market. The railroad locomotives used cord wood as did most of the steamboats. For this reason, also, the state government paid no attention to the business. With the

⁶⁶ The following statistics will indicate the development of

opening of coal shafts in Clay, Vigo, Vermilion and Clinton counties in the seventies it was recognized that some legal precautions should be taken, at least to safeguard the lives of the miners.

A law of March 8, 1879, provided for the appointment of a mine inspector whose duty was to visit each mine twice a year and ascertain if suitable outlets for miners, in case of accident, had been provided; if proper mine maps were kept handy; if proper ventilation was provided for; if abandoned mines were properly marked, if cage covers, gates to shafts, ropes, and other machinery on which the lives of miners might depend were in good condition. Boys under fourteen years of age were not allowed to work in the mines and it was the inspector's duty to see that the law was not violated. Herbert H. Richards, who was appointed to this position in 1879, found 177 mines in operation, few of which were provided with the means of successful mining. The Brazil Block company's mine at Brazil was the only one using a fan, and it had been put in recently.

the coal industry and its location.—*Indiana Department of Statistics*, XVI (1916) 541:

County	Production	Employees
Vigo	4,412,800	5,338
Sullivan	2,678,496	3,950
Vermilion ..	2,418,250	3,072
Knox	1,950,829	1,834
Greene	1,817,040	2,522
Pike	561,293	1,064
Warrick	340,058	606
Parke	303,840	469
Clay	280,054	966
Gibson	256,145	300
Vanderburgh	223,678	417
Davies	73,695	112
Fountain	17,742	84
Total	15,346,921	20,703

Scarcely a General Assembly since then but what has added something to the mining laws of the state. The inspector is now a deputy of the state geologist who appoints him and to whom he makes his annual report.⁸⁷

§ 161 CLAY

The valuable clays are in Fountain, Vermilion, Parke, Vigo, Clay, Owen, Sullivan, Greene, Knox, Daviess, Martin, Dubois, Pike, Gibson, Vanderburg, Warrick, Spencer and Perry counties, in other words in the coal areas. The slowness with which the business has been developed has been largely due to a lack of definite scientific knowledge of the clay beds. In 1874 a remarkable bed of Kaolin was discovered in Lawrence county. This, as well as the other clays of the state, was briefly described by E. T. Cox in the reports of 1882.⁸⁸ In 1885 Maurice Thompson tried to interest capital in this industry but with little apparent success.

One of the earliest ventures of this character was at Troy. What they called at the time a bed of

⁸⁷ The technical literature on coal mining in Indiana is considerable. Every geological report made to the state has something of historical value. Much of this is based on hasty visits and is nothing but "observation". In 1896 W. A. Blatchley, state geologist, began gathering data for a detailed report on Indiana coal. This report, 1,750 pages, was published early in 1900. In the annual reports of the state mine inspector will be found data concerning individual mines, machinery used, output, and a great many other facts concerning the actual work.

⁸⁸ *Indiana Geology*, 1882, p. 24: "Underlying all our coal seams are great beds of excellent fire clay. Good fire bricks are made in Clay and Vermilion counties, and the raw material is abundant in the southwestern region. When the coming man builds, not for today, but for all time, he will require permanent fireproof edifices, and will then avoid disastrous conflagrations by cheaply furnishing from this clay, window and door frames, roofs, cornices, etc., and ornamental brackets of terra cotta ware. The supply is sufficient to furnish the world, and when common

pottery marl was discovered in the hillside near the Ohio river. James Clews, from the potteries of Staffordshire, England, undertook to develop the bed. A pottery company was formed at Louisville, potters from Staffordshire to the number of forty were imported, and when David Dale Owen was there in 1837 the first kiln was burning. Clay from the Mississippi "chalk banks" was brought for making queenware. What became of the plant Dr. Owen did not tell, though in his report for 1838 he observed that the owners were in need of "pure flint" for the finer grades of porcelain. The work at Troy was continued, however, down to 1892 by B. H. Hinch, who bought the plant in 1862.

In almost every community in the state during the forties and fifties there was a brick yard in which was manufactured the common red bricks now to be seen in the old farm houses, especially prevalent in the southern part of the state.

An early attempt to manufacture Indiana clay products for the market was in the same county as the first pottery, Perry. This was a sewer pipe factory, founded at Cannelton by A. D. Clark in 1862. This factory only recently was superseded by a much larger one, the Cannelton Sewer Pipe Company.³⁰

In Parke county, near Bloomingdale, potteries were established as early as 1840. At Annapolis, nearby, the Coke Oven Hollow factory, established by H. R. Atchison, has been in operation since 1841, making for the most part vitrified stoneware. This clay was also hauled to Rockville or shipped away on the old canal.³¹

semita prevails, the clays of Indiana will be richer than the mines of Colorado and the golden sand of California. During 1892 there were 2,769 tons of fire clay produced."

³⁰ De la Hunt, *History of Perry County*, 112. Also, *Indiana Geology*, 1895, p. 123.

³¹ *Indiana Geology*, 1895, p. 41.

At Clay City in Clay county a stoneware pottery was established in 1846 and from the same bed several thousand tons of clay were shipped to a pottery in West Indianapolia. In 1869 there were three potteries in the county: one in Brazil owned by Torbet and Baker, one owned by Isaac Cordroy, a mile northeast, and one at Harmony, owned by S. H. Brown. They were turning out 200,000 gallons per year. In Greene county at Owensboro a man named Reynolds operated a pottery in the early days. The Worthington pottery has been running since 1872. Where Loogootee now is Upton Stuckey operated a pottery in 1842. This continued fifty years. At Shoals a pottery was in operation from 1870 till 1892.

By far the larger factories of this kind are in the Brazil field, where they use the clays and shales underlying the coal " There were in 1904 five of these factories, all of recent establishment. The William E. Dee Clay Manufacturing company of Mecca, Parke county, erected in 1894; the American sewer pipe company at Brazil; the Chicago sewer pipe company of Brazil, established in 1893, are some of the older plants. The clay of this same region is now used extensively in the manufacture of hollow block and conduit ware. The Ayer-McCarel clay company, the Weaver clay and coal company, the Excelsior clay works, the Continental clay and mining company, the McRoy works, and the Vigo Clay company, all established since 1890, are leaders. Fire brick, dry pressed brick, architectural terra cotta, encaustic tile, ordinary building brick, drain tile, and paving materials are now made in great quantities and bid fair soon to rival the coal mines themselves in commercial importance. They are fulfilling, in a

⁴¹ Dr. Messer Wright was turning out 40,000 bricks daily from his yards in Brazil in 1888.

large manner, the prophecy of the sixties concerning iron foundries. In 1914 the clay products were valued at \$8,605,000. They were made in 231 factories employing 5,512 hands.⁴³

§ 162 OOLITIC LIMESTONE

The Owens in the *Geological Reconnoissances* made only one brief reference to the Bedford limestone.⁴⁴ Dr. Winthrop Foote, who settled at Palesatine in 1818 and whose sepulcher, hewn from a solid limestone boulder, is on the eastern border of Bedford, often assured his neighbors that the great wealth of Lawrence county was in its quarries. Such was his confidence that he bought up the land on which most of the quarries have since been opened. It was due to his enthusiasm that a stone cutter from Louisville came to Bedford in 1832. Some of the stone was used locally but of course no commercial use could be made till the coming of the railroad offered an outlet. As a proof that the stone will stand weather are the abutments of the old Rawlins bridge and the Rawlins mill near Bedford where after three-quarters of a century every mark of the mason's chisel is still evident.

With the coming of the New Albany and Salem railroad in 1851-2 and the possibility of transportation, renewed interest was aroused. A civil engineer, named Davis Harrison, from Louisville, after locating the railroad, turned his attention toward the development of the stone industry. Nathan Hall, who seems to have been the pioneer quarryman in the

⁴³ The best historical sources for this section are *Geological Report*, 1893, 1904, and 1906. See, also, Lequerreux's article in *Report of 1902*. County histories.

⁴⁴ *Geological Reconnoissances*, 1837, p. 133: "Most of the limestones in the Oolitic series—that is, those occurring in the counties of Crawford, Orange, Lawrence, Monroe, Owen and Putnam—make good building materials."

district, opened a quarry where the Old Blue Hole is now and hauled his output to the railroad with oxen. It is said locally that some of the stone for the Indiana State House was thus transported. John Glover had opened a quarry just south of Bedford before the Civil war but the quarry was not reopened after that event.

Various references were made to the stone in geological reports but no great interest developed till the early seventies. In 1878 the Hollowell quarry in Dark Hollow, four miles northwest of Bedford, was opened by the Hinadale, Doyle Granite company to supply stone for the Chicago city hall. In May 1878 the Dark Hollow stone company had opened the first quarry in this district. Their first large order was for the Indiana state house. In three years this company paid in dividends 100 per cent. The Bedford Steam stone works, 1886; and the Baalbec are the other two original quarries of this famous old district.

Buff Ridge, two miles northeast of Dark Hollow, is also an early quarry district. The Old Hoosier, opened in 1879, is the oldest of this group. From it stone has been shipped to all sections of the United States. Opened originally in a number of shafts, these by 1896 all had been run together until the quarry was twenty-five acres in extent and at that time had been worked from five to seven cuts deep, or about forty feet on an average. The Perry, Matthews and Buskirk quarry was opened in 1889; the Hollowell stone company, 1896; Hoosier No. 2, opened in 1885 to furnish stone for the Memphis bridge; the Buff Ridge, opened in 1891; and a few others, long since abandoned, constitute this famous group. Their switch, which resembles the freight yards of a city, joins the Monon at Horseshoe a few miles north of Bedford.

The Blue Hole quarry, one of the most noted in the whole belt, was sold to the Hinsdale, Doyle Granite company in 1878, by whom it was developed. The Benzel quarry was opened nearby in 1890 by the Bedford Blue Stone company. In 1890 the Brown quarry was opened at the northeast corner of the city, and in 1892 the Salem-Bedford quarry, a half mile northwest of the Brown.

At Mitchell Hollow in 1890, at Fort Rittner as early as 1850, and on a large scale in 1860, at Rock Lick and at Fishing creek, all southeast of Bedford, quarries have been opened and operated successfully.

At the other end of the Oolitic belt are the Romona quarries in Owen county on the Vincennes branch of the Vandalia railroad. This quarry was opened in 1868 by the Gosport stone and lime company from whom it passed to the Romona stone company in 1885. The Lilly quarry at Romona, in 1890; the Bienert quarry at Romona, in 1870; the Keystone quarry, half way between Gosport and Romona, and the Old State House quarry, two miles east of Spencer (the last two are abandoned) are the principal mines of this region.

Between these extremes there is almost a continuous series of quarries, located along the Monon railway and its branches.

The Big Creek district around Stinesville was opened up by a local quarryman named Richard Gilbert, in 1828. His quarry was nearly a mile south of Stinesville in the east bluff. In 1855 Edward M. Watts and William M. Biddle opened up a complete stone mill on Big Creek less than a mile west of Stinesville. Here for thirteen years they quarried stone and shipped it away on the railroad. This was known commercially as the White River stone. Later companies in this district such as the Indiana Steam stone company, the North Bedford, the Terre Haute,

the Griswold and the Stinesville, have kept this stone on the market.

The Ellettsville district was opened by John Matthews in 1862. A mill was erected in 1864 and in 1877 the first channeler was put in use here at a cost of \$6,000. John Kostenbaker opened a quarry in 1864; Major H. F. Perry in 1866; Sharp and Hight in 1869. These and their successors have continued some of their quarries to the present.

Next south of Ellettsville is the Hunter Valley district, now one of the leading quarry centers of the whole area. Although Oolitic stone was used in the Bloomington courthouse in 1819, and in tombstones and other ornaments cut as early as 1856 by Jesse Carson, the commercial development was not begun around Bloomington till 1891 when the Morton C. Hunter stone company opened the quarries in Hunter valley, two miles northwest of Bloomington. This company was followed by the Chicago and Bloomington company in 1892; the Norton stone company in 1892; Perry, Matthews and Perring in 1893; the Star company in 1895, and the Hunter Brothers in 1895.

The Sanders district was opened in 1888 by the Oolitic stone company of Indiana, which in 1890 furnished stone for the Chicago auditorium. The Monroe County Oolitic company opened the Adams quarry in 1889 and since then a number of quarries have been opened in the district.

The entire area from Stinesville to Bedford appears to the traveler on the Monon now as a continuous quarry. No attempt can be made here to follow the development of this business in detail. Machinery has largely taken the place of hand labor in quarry and mill. In 1879 there were 20 quarries in the field, 177 hands employed, and an output

valued at \$141,850, since when the business has grown to enormous proportions."

§ 163 NATURAL GAS

The natural gas supply of Indiana began with the completion of the well at Portland, March 14, 1886. However, a few instances of flowing gas had been discovered before. Early in 1881 a flow was noted from a deep well in Fountain county. No development followed and the incident was forgotten.⁴⁴ A gas well near Kentland in 1882 was described as throwing sand and water thirty feet in the air in violent periodic jets. Another well in the same place had been discharging gas for at least twelve years.⁴⁵

The impetus to boring for gas came from Ohio where, near Findlay, gas was found in great quantities. This led people to believe the field extended over into Indiana. Drills were put down in a great many places but without results. These failures led to a more careful study of the general situation. At Eaton, Delaware county, in 1876, a flow of gas had been obtained at a depth of 600 feet. Accordingly a local company was formed and the Eaton well sunk to 922 feet, where gas was found in the Trenton rock. September 13, 1886, the Howard Natural Gas and Oil company sunk a well in the edge of Kokomo and found gas in Trenton rock at a depth of 904 feet. About a month later a second well was sunk in the same vicinity with the same results.

⁴⁴ No extended historical study has been made of the industry. The above account has been written from the *Geological Reports*, county histories, contemporary newspapers and some tradition. Of the *Geological Reports* the following are the best: 1837, p. 183; 1879, p. 229; 1880, p. 377; 1881, p. 29; 1896, p. 291; 1907, p. 316. These Reports are of a scientific character.

⁴⁵ *Geological Report*, 1881, p. 115.

⁴⁶ *Geological Report*, 1892, p. 57.

These, it will be noted, were sunk the same year as the one at Portland where a depth of 990 feet was attained." By 1888 productive wells were in flow at Albion, Alexandria, Amboy, Anderson, Auburn, Butler, Cicero, Dunkirk, Elwood, Fairmount, Farmland, Fort Wayne, Frankton, Greenfield, Greensburg, Hartford City, Jonesboro, Knightstown, Kokomo, Lafontaine, Lawrence, Lawrenceburg, Marion, Montpelier, Morristown, Newcastle, Noblesville, North Vernon, Portland, Redkey, Salem, Spiceland, Summitville and Winchester.⁴² Several hundred other wells in all parts of the state were bored during this period. The years from 1886 to 1890 were referred to as the "natural gas craze." A glance at the map will show that the "gas belt" was Grant, Howard, Tipton, Hamilton, Madison, Hancock, Delaware, Blackford, Henry and Rush counties with a few outlying pockets.

Excitement spread to all parts of the state. Excursion trains carried crowds, daily, to see the wonders. The wells meantime stood open, wasting thousands of millions of cubic feet of the best fuel in the world, merely to support flambeaus for visiting excursionists. No one doubted but that the supply was perpetual.⁴³ By 1900 it was clear that the supply was failing. The factories which had been attracted by cheap fuel began to look elsewhere for other fuel or a new location.

After 1900 the use of gas was rapidly abandoned. In 1905-6 the pressure at Muncie failed. This was in

⁴¹ *Geological Report*, 1885-6, p. 314.

⁴² *Geological Report*, XVI, 234.

⁴³ *Geological Report*, XVI, 329. Between 1886 and 1897 5,400 live gas wells were drilled. Of these 2,400 had been abandoned in 1897. There were at this time 219 companies furnishing natural gas. *Geological Report* 1897, p. 261. There is a good account by Margaret Wynn, in *Indiana Magazine of History*, IV, 31.

the heart of the field and marks the end of the era, although a few companies still continue to furnish small amounts.

§ 164 PETROLEUM

There was an exciting petroleum hunt in southern Indiana during the Civil war by prospectors from the Pennsylvania oil fields. They were attracted to the deep valleys of Crawford and Perry counties by their similarity to the Pennsylvania fields and by the oil springs that are found in southwestern Crawford county. No oil was found. The well on the Clark farm was sunk 648 feet and the one at Muffin 1,180 feet.

The real discovery of the petroleum fields of Indiana was due to the widespread hunt for gas from 1886 to 1890. Thousands of wells were bored in all parts of the state but the gas hunters did not want to be bothered with oil. However, in some places oil without gas was found and in these places wells were developed. One of these was at Terre Haute where, in the course of three years, 54,740 barrels were pumped from the three wells. In 1865 Chauncey Rose bored a deep well in front of the Terre Haute house expecting an artesian well. At a depth of 1,629 feet, in Corniferous limestone, he struck oil. In 1869 a second well on the bank of the river between Walnut and Poplar streets struck oil at 1,642 feet. A third well dug in 1869 reached a vein of oil which produced 25 barrels per day.⁴⁰ There was the usual rush. More than a score of wells were put down in the vicinity but only one struck pay oil. This, the Phoenix well, has been the best paying well in the state.⁴¹ At Francisville, in Pulaski county, a well

⁴⁰ *Geological Reports*, II, 135.

⁴¹ *Geological Reports*, XXXI, 529. "When the drill first struck the oil-bearing stratum on the night of May 8, 1869, the

was opened in October, 1887. Here the borers for oil in 1865 had found gas and abandoned the well. In 1887 they bored for gas and were disappointed in finding oil. At Medaryville, E. W. Gillette opened three wells about the same time. In the course of three years oil wells had been opened up in all parts of the gas belt. The best of the field seems to have been around Montpelier, a district extending some fifteen miles in all directions from that town. This district was opened in 1890 by the Manhattan and Jackson oil companies. The best of these wells averaged about 50 barrels per day.²² None of these were large wells, such as all drillers continually expected to strike. However, the net production of the state increased steadily from 33,375 barrels in 1889, from the Terre Haute wells alone, to 4,680,732 barrels in 1896. By 1897 the output had begun to fail, the loss that year being 327,594 barrels, in spite of the fact that two new fields, Peru and Alexandria, were added. The latter field was opened in April, 1897, and by the close of the year 67 wells had been dug, 33 of which had produced 71,767 barrels.²³

However the industry after a decline to 3,751,307 barrels in 1898 steadily rose to 11,281,030 barrels in

flow was so great that quite a lake of oil accumulated around the derrick, and there was some alarm lest a destructive fire should result. The drill was then pulled out of the well, and as soon as the end left the mouth of the casing a solid stream of oil four and a half inches in diameter shot into the air to a distance of forty to fifty feet. While running at this rate there was probably a little over a barrel a minute pouring from the well, and when the pressure decreased from the first spurt, which lasted only fifteen minutes, the flow steadied down to a four and a half inch stream, spurling about three feet above the mouth of the well. A tank with a capacity of twenty barrels was put under the pipe, and it was filled to overflowing in just twenty-two minutes."

²² *Geological Report*, XVI, 306.

²³ *Geological Report*, XXII, 106.

1904 which was the highest point ever reached. The sixteen years from 1891 to 1907 cover the most important period of what is called the Trenton Rock petroleum in Indiana. There had been opened 23,712 wells in this field by the close of 1906. At that time there were 16,266 producing wells, or 45 less than there had been one year earlier. These wells averaged 1.19 barrels per day as against 1.59 a year earlier. For the first time also the number of dry holes and abandoned wells exceeded the number of new wells. These facts indicate the waning condition of the business.

The Princeton oil field opened up in 1891. When the Southern railroad located its shops at Princeton it began prospecting for gas and coal. Traces of oil were found, but not till May 25, 1903, was a successful well driven, the Hoosier No. 2. Since then a considerable field has been opened up. This oil was found at a depth of about 1,000 feet, in sandstone. The field has since widened to Oakland City and Petersburg.

Still later a field was found in Sullivan county, which in 1915 had 503 wells and produced 547,500 barrels; the Princeton field in the same year producing only 136,570 barrels from 266 wells. The whole state in 1915 produced 1,047,778 barrels from 3,983 wells. In almost every case gas has been found in the same vicinity with oil. The oil and gas era thus extend from about 1885 to 1915. During this time scarcely a neighborhood in the state but has been bored for oil or gas. While the cash value of the combined product has, perhaps, exceeded \$200,000,000, it is doubtful if all the money obtained would pay for all the labor expended. It seems to have been a worse case of wasting natural resources than the exploitation of the early forests.

CHAPTER XXXI

STATE SCHOOL SYSTEM

§ 165 GENERAL FEATURES

As pointed out in the chapter on common schools, some of the district schools of that era attained great excellence. A combination of a good teacher and a public spirited community was not hampered by any outside influence. On the other hand the poor schools failed to receive any encouragement from county or state authorities. The making of these almost independent schools into a system, with some approach, at least, to uniform excellence, was the work of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Again it should be suggested that this change in purpose was not made at once. There was no sharp "about-face" in the development of the schools but only a tendency, perhaps at the time not widely regarded. All of the elements of the system had been suggested long before 1873, and considerable progress had been made in many of them. Here, as in other phases of the development of the schools of Indiana, the chief problem, and the one most often overlooked, was the formation of a foundation in public opinion. Enthusiastic educators have built up great hopes only to see them fail of realization for lack of popular appreciation and support.

Reading the reports of the state superintendent from 1854 to 1873 will convince one that these leaders had in mind a state system, and, moreover, saw pretty clearly what was necessary for its realization.

INTERIOR VIEW OF THE CHURCH



Concerning public opinion, which was fairly well established by 1870, the requirements fell into five broad classes: First, a state school fund, raised by state taxation and administered by state authority; second, uniform state-controlled administration; third, state supervision; fourth, professional preparation; fifth and last, a state curriculum. An attempt will be made to set forth in order the progress made along these lines.

§ 166 FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

In a previous chapter the origin and nature of most of the funds connected with the school system have been discussed. Very little progress has been made for a half century along this line. Neither Indiana university, Purdue, nor the State Normal school, though integral parts of the state school system, can be said to be under the financial control of any officer or board connected with the system. Their funds, almost entirely, are provided directly by the General Assembly and expended by boards of trustees independent of the state board of education. The law of 1873 does give the state board the power to appoint three of its members to visit the State Normal each term and report to its board of trustees, but the recommendations, if any, are subject to the will of the trustees.

The relation between the state board and the city schools is equally indirect. The cities, towns, and townships draw their proportions of the common school fund without any direct action of the state board. The state superintendent distributes this fund, but if the local officers have done their duties as to enumeration, he has no discretion in the matter. However, a recent statute required each township school to continue in session at least six months, provided the highest legal local levy will sustain it. If

this fail, then the state will supply the required funds. Likewise in commissioning high schools the state board may require the local corporations to maintain a certain minimum term in order to hold the commission.

By far the greatest step toward uniform state regulation was the Teachers' Wage law, March 2, 1907, which virtually made every teacher an employee of the state. In connection with this, and also greatly strengthening the state's authority, are the various statutes, discussed later, reclaiming for the state the sole power of licensing teachers. While the state still lacks direct compulsory power over the finances of the local school officers, the tendency is clearly in the direction of centralization.

§ 167 ADMINISTRATION

The law of 1873, which as nearly as any one event indicates the beginning of the state system, dealt very largely with administration.¹ There was very little in the law that could be called original. Its merit lay in its organization. After making some minor changes concerning the state board the law took up the county superintendency.² County administration had always been a weak point. By the

¹ There are two statutes, *Laws of Indiana*, 1873, chaps. XXV and XXVI.

² The constitution of the state board has been changed somewhat in recent years. In 1865 it was made up of the governor, state superintendent, presidents of Indiana university and the State Normal school and the superintendents of the three largest cities.—*Laws of Indiana*, 1865, p. 23. In 1875 the president of Purdue was added.—*Laws of Indiana*, 1875, p. 130. In 1899 three new members were added, one of whom has usually been a college president, one a county superintendent, and one a private citizen, representing the laboring men.—*Laws of Indiana*, 1899, p. 466. In 1913 three more men "of known sympathy with vocational education" were added.—*Laws of Indiana*, 1913, ch. 24, Sec. 7.

law of 1837 three commissioners were appointed by the circuit court to examine teachers. These commissioners were of no service to the schools, since they acted singly and if one refused it was usually easy to get a license from another. This office was abolished in 1849 for those counties which accepted the law. In 1852 the duty of licensing teachers was entrusted to the state superintendent and his deputies. Only a few of these deputies had been appointed when the friends of local government again secured the upper hand and made the county commissioners the licensing body. One state superintendent after another, from 1856 to 1873, asked for a county school officer with power to administer and supervise. In 1861 the county examiner was provided for, but on account of the salary and the character of the appointees, the duties were performed rather perfunctorily.² The new officer, the county superintendent, was primarily a professional supervisor of the teachers. However, he was made the long-sought medium between the state and the district schools. He held public teachers' examinations, controlled county and township teachers' institutes, tried all cases of his county coming under the school laws, took the enumeration, made statistical reports to the state superintendent, and executed all the orders of the state board. He also audited the accounts for all the offices handling school funds and presided over meetings of county boards of education. While there was no radical change here, every one felt that the law tightened the grip of the state on the school system. The increased prestige of the county superintendent did not pass unchallenged.

The law of 1873 had provided that the township trustees elect the county superintendent. Under

² *Laws of Indiana*, 1861, p. 78.

guise of economy, the friends of local autonomy, or perhaps county politics did it, by a law of 1875 placed his election in the hands of the board of county commissioners.⁴ The board was given power to fix the number of days service the county superintendent should render, which number should not exceed one-half the number of schools plus twenty office days. This law, of course, made a mere executive agent out of him and, though under the law, he must have had two years' experience as a teacher, it would have kept first rate men from the office. Fortunately, the supreme court overthrew this on a technicality. In 1899 the length of term was made four years, with a thirty-six months' license as the educational qualification.

The auditing work of the county superintendent was timely. The reports for 1874 shows a saving to the school fund of \$52,472 collected from delinquent debtors to the school fund and from fines not turned over by justices.⁵

The law of 1873 created a county board of education, in imitation of the state board, but its powers of administration were not large, nor clearly defined. It was composed of the townships, city, and town trustees under the presidency of the county superintendent, who was a voting member. It exercised a general supervision, of an advisory nature, over buildings, furniture, text books and other matters of common interest. It had no compulsory power and has not exerted much influence directly.

No change in township and district management worth while was made. The old district organization

⁴ *Laws of Indiana*, 1875, p. 131. This change in manner of election was recommended by State Superintendent A. C. Hopkins' *Report*, 1874, p. 19.

⁵ *Superintendent's Report*, 1874, p. 29.

under the director was retained to meet annually and renew the neighborhood feud, to annoy the trustee and disrupt the school. It has taken these old sores in our school system a century to heal and many of the scars still remain. The towns and cities were taken from the jurisdiction of the township trustees and placed under trustees of their own, a mistake now slowly being corrected. The administrative system sketched in 1873 has come down to the present in all its essentials.*

§ 168 SUPERVISION

In many respects competent supervision has been the last and most difficult essential of the school system to obtain. More abortive attempts have been made along this line than along any other. The difficulty arose from several sources. It was an expert service. The expert needs long and patient preparation, a thing that did not appeal to the practical Indianians. Expert service has never been appreciated highly in the west. Pestalozzi would have been unable to hold the position of county superintendent because he would have been out of "touch" with the people, and besides, the county superintendent, the most professional officer in the system of 1873, had to be a resident elector of the county.

In 1843 the state treasurer was made *ex-officio* superintendent of common schools. The only thing

* This phase of our school system is discussed by W. A. Rawles, *Centralizing Tendencies in the Administration of Indiana*, 28, seq.; R. G. Boone, *History of Education in Indiana*, ch. XVIII; James H. Smart, *The Schools of Indiana* (1876), 191, seq.; *The Indiana School Journal*, and the *Biennial Reports of the State Superintendents*. In many cases supervision and administration are combined in the same officer. However, it seems best to regard the city superintendent as a supervisor and the township trustee as an administrator.

in the statute that suggests supervision is the title of the office. In 1852 the new constitution created the present office of state superintendent of public instruction but the office is distinctly administrative.*

The first officer chosen directly and specifically for supervisory work was the county school examiner provided for in the law of 1865.¹ The new officers, where possible to secure capable men, soon made their influence felt. In many counties editors, physicians or lawyers were employed who did only the clerical work required. The salary of three dollars per day was not such as to attract capable men.² By 1870 it was clear to all that the county examiner was living up to his title and not to his official duties. He had been expected to visit each school one or more times so that he might advise the trustees, use judgment in licensing, and give good counsel to the teachers. By 1870 visiting had practically ceased. It was this condition that led to the law of 1873, creating the county superintendency. The latter officer and his duties have been noticed. It is sufficient to add that comparatively little, until quite recently, has been accomplished in county supervision. County superintendents have found that by reason of bad roads, bad weather, frequent changes of teachers, local prejudices, and a multitude of other duties, it

* *Laws of Indiana, 1865, ch. 1*. "The superintendent shall be charged with the administration of the system of public instruction, and a general superintendence of the business relating to the common schools of the state, and of the school funds and school revenues set apart and appropriated for their support."

¹ *Laws of Indiana, 1865, ch. 1, sec. 39*. "They shall visit the schools of their respective counties as often as they may deem it necessary, during each term, for the purpose of increasing their usefulness, and elevating, as far as practicable, the poorer schools to the standard of the best advising and securing, as far as practicable, uniformity in their organization and management."

² *State Superintendent's Report, XIV, 25*.

was almost impossible to organize county schools into a system such as supervision implies. The same observation is far more applicable to the township trustee. Originally intended as a supervising school officer, he has developed into anything but a professional schoolman.

Supervision has progressed most in the city schools. The city superintendents have come to be the most professional schoolmen in the state. Two reasons for this stand out prominently. The city schools have furnished a large body of teachers and pupils in close proximity and the city superintendent has not been hampered by legal and political restrictions as has the corresponding county officer.

The law of 1865 made each civil city or town a legal school corporation, placed it under control of a board of trustees elected by the common council or town board, and empowered it to establish graded schools.* This grant of power has remained and on its ample foundation our city schools system has been built with little further aid or hindrance from the General Assembly. The general value of school gradation and systematic organization had in 1865

* *Laws of Indiana*, 1865, ch. I, secs. 4 and 10: "Each civil township, and each incorporated town or city in the several counties of the state is hereby declared a distinct municipal corporation for school purposes, and the trustees of such township and the trustees provided for in the next section of this act, shall, for their township, town, or city, be school trustees, and perform the duties of clerk and treasurer for school purposes. They may also establish graded schools, or such modifications of them as may be practicable, and provide for admission into the higher departments of the graded schools, from the primary schools of their townships, such pupils as are sufficiently advanced for such admission." These same provisions had been in the early school law of 1852 and 1855, though "graded schools" in these laws were not what we now understand by that term.—Boone, *Education in Indiana*, 281.

been conceded for twenty years by the leading educators of the state. A hasty glance through the reports of the state superintendents will show how often it was discussed, not only in their reports but in professional meetings. Two obstacles presented themselves. A large majority of the patrons had been educated in the district, ungraded schools and to their minds such schools represented the last word in education. This prejudice remained a force to deal with for a generation or more, from 1850 to 1880. The other obstacle was financial, lack of funds to construct proper buildings and hire capable superintendents. The opposition to the former soon disappeared but it was difficult to persuade trustees to pay as much for one man who did not teach as for four active teachers.

The city superintendent is the result of fifty years of development. In 1871 Indianapolis was given a special system of schools in which there was specific authority given to the school board "to employ and pay teachers and appoint superintendents."²⁰ This school board of six members, elected by popular vote, was also authorized to borrow \$200,000 for building purposes. In 1873 this same general power was extended to all cities and towns.²¹ It must not be inferred from these statutes that real city superintendents had not existed previously. At Rockport in 1856 O. H. Smith taught the high school and supervised, of course without statutory sanction, the grades. At Salem, in 1857, H. D. Wilson had a corps of four or five teachers whom he supervised, though the schools

²⁰ *Laws of Indiana*, 1871, ch. XV, sec. 5.

²¹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1873, ch. XXIV, secs. 12, 13: "The school trustees of incorporated towns and cities shall have power to employ a superintendent for their schools, whose salary shall be paid from the special school revenue, and to prescribe his duties, and to direct in the discharge of the same."

were not graded. Between 1855 and 1870 most every town or city of the state had an acknowledged "head" to its schools who in fact controlled them. These men, whatever they might be called, usually taught full time. George B. Stone, who organized the schools of Indianapolis, taught two classes only, giving the balance of his time to supervision. South Bend, in 1875, employed D. A. Ewing to supervise the elementary school and Benjamin Wilcox to supervise the high school. At Vevay and Spencer in 1870 the boards employed the county examiner to supervise but since the experiment was not repeated it would seem to have been unsatisfactory. The evidence is clear that during the first twenty years the city or town superintendent was merely the head teacher. At Evansville in 1858 and at New Albany in 1870 one of the trustees acted as supervisor. Both men, H. Q. Wheeler of Evansville and Dr. E. Newland of New Albany, were superior, public-spirited officials, but there was no salary attached. The superintendents gradually realized the value of expert supervision, or more accurately, were able to convince the people of its value, and consequently gave more and more of their time to this work. D. Eckley Hunter, at Shelbyville, in 1867, gave all his time to supervision. By 1880 school boards generally began to recognize that the proper sphere of the superintendent was not teaching but supervising. The recognition of this was due largely to the work of James H. Smart at Fort Wayne, W. H. Wiley at Terre Haute, A. M. Gow at Evansville, A. C. Shortridge at Indianapolis, James Baldwin at Huntington and a few other pioneer city superintendents. Even the best of these continued to be business managers of their schools.

There remains little to be said of the city superintendents. Since about 1880 their general usefulness

has become recognized and their field of operations definitely marked out. Taken as a whole they constitute the only body of persons connected with school work that can be called professional. Their business is education. The law has not specified for them a term of office, qualification, salary nor duties. They vary greatly in ability, but the competition of the school boards has kept the standard high and rising. Fortunately neither the law nor public opinion requires, as is the case with county superintendents, that the city superintendent be a resident of the city, county, or state where he serves.

Besides the city superintendent there have come to be in late years special supervisors in the larger cities. The best example of this work is that of Nebraska Cropsey of Indianapolis, who for many years supervised the grade schools of that city. Under her direction they became famous throughout the country. Most every city now employs specialists in music, art, physical training and in other subjects lately added to the curriculum.

The state board of education has gradually assumed some duties of supervision. Beginning with 1867 the board tried to link the high schools and the state university together so that graduates of the former might enter the latter without examination. In June, 1869, at a meeting of the state board in Bloomington this question alone was discussed. The matter finally came before the university board of trustees, July 18, 1873, by whom it was ordered that graduates of certain high schools, approved by the state board of education, be admitted to the university. On the evidence of blanks filled out by their superintendents, fifteen high schools were granted commissions. Six more were added in 1874.¹² From

¹² *State Superintendent's Report*, XXII, 108.

this simple beginning and by this method the state board has gradually acquired complete domination of the high school. In 1875 similar commissions were issued for Purdue. These commissions, at first issued annually, were soon issued to run until revoked for cause. By 1890 there were 107 commissioned high schools. October 22, 1888, the state board took another step in tightening its authority over the high schools by requiring that one of its members visit each school and make a detailed report in writing before a commission could be issued. For purposes of visiting, the state was parceled out by congressional districts to the various members of the board.¹⁴

Only one more step remained in this direction and that was taken under the law of March 10, 1913, which authorized the state superintendent to appoint

School and Superintendent	School and Superintendent
Aurora—E. S. Clark.	New Albany—H. D. Jacobs.
Elkhart—John K. Walts.	Bloomington—W. R. Houghton.
Evansville—A. M. Gow.	Vincennes—T. J. Charlton.
Franklin—E. W. Thompson.	Terre Haute—W. H. Wiley.
Goshen—D. D. Turke.	South Bend—D. A. Ewing.
Greencastle—George W. Lee.	Shelbyville—W. A. Bates.
Greensburg—C. W. Harvey.	Seymour—John W. Caldwell.
Kokomo—Sheridan Cox.	Rushville—David Graham.
Logansport—George C. Shepard.	Plymouth—R. A. Chase.
Mt. Vernon—A. J. Snook.	Princeton—D. Eckley Hunter.
Muncie—H. S. McRes.	

See, also, *Report*, XXXVIII, 51. "During the term of Supt. Milton B. Hopkins, July, 1873, the following resolution was adopted by the board of trustees of Indiana University:

"In order to bring the university into closer connection with the high schools of the state, we recommend the following plan: A certificate from certain high schools of a satisfactory examination sustained in the preparatory course will entitle the bearer to admission to the freshman class."

¹⁴ *State Superintendent's Report*, XXXVIII, 51. A course of study was prescribed for the high schools which will be discussed later.

a high school inspector with all the supervisory powers formerly vested in the state board. In 1907 the high school course was defined by law, the subjects to be taught being fixed, and the provisions being made equally applicable to the non-commissioned high schools. December 17, 1912, the state board went so far as to state the minimum length of a recitation in a high school. May 6, 1915, the state board ordered the township trustees to employ in his high schools only such teachers as were approved by the county superintendent. Thus step by step the state has asserted its authority over the high schools until little actual power is left to any local authority." A part of this power has been gradually transferred to the county superintendent, under the direction of the state board, until that officer is rapidly approaching what he was originally intended to be, an agent of the state board for professional supervision.

§ 169 PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION

Under this head are included directly or indirectly all the activities of the state board in educational matters. When the teachers shall have become professional all the elaborate system of licensing, now

¹¹ These later laws and state board regulations are enumerated in *State Superintendent's Report*, XXV 111, 570, seq. See also *State Superintendent's Report*, XXI p. 10: "By an act of the General Assembly of 1895, it is made the duty of the state board of education to take cognizance of such questions as may arise in the practical administration of the school system, not otherwise provided for, and duly consider, discuss and determine the same. Growing out of this somewhat indefinite delegation of authority in school matters is a system of annual inspection of high schools and the issuance of high school commissions. Indeed, the system has been in vogue so long and the authority of the board so generally recognized that the citizens of the state and local school boards accept the advice and requirements of the state board of education as mandatory."

reaching ridiculous and harmful proportions, all the top-heavy and expensive supervision, all the detail work on curriculums and the precautions in selecting text-books can be dispensed with. A great amount of work along this line has been done, and a great amount remains to be done, yet the teachers of the state are appreciably approaching the professional stage. There are evidences now that in places supervision and prescription have reached beyond a maximum of usefulness. As political economists would say, the stage of diminishing returns has been reached in the schools. There is a continual tendency to form a gap between the supervisors and teachers with a consequent loss of many good school men, who thus get out of concert with actual teaching and are forced to go to recruit other professions.

Professional training has been regarded from the earliest times as the panacea of all educational difficulties. Every state superintendent from William C. Larabee down to the present has publicly recognized this. The effective work along this line has made Indiana schools among the best in the nation."

In the early days the people naturally looked to

"R. G. Boone, *History of Education in Indiana*, 381: "What Indiana schools have become, ranking with the best among all the states, is chiefly due to what Indiana teachers have become"; James H. Smart, *State Superintendent's Report*, XXIV, 88. "The greatest need of the schools is thoroughly trained teachers". Samuel L. Hugg, *State Superintendent's Report*, IX, 30. "Next to sufficient revenue for the support of our system of public instruction, our greatest educational necessity and want is a school for the instruction and preparation of teachers for the common schools, in the arts and sciences of their profession". Frank L. Jones, *State Superintendent's Biennial Report*, XX, 756. "On the side of school administration the most important work of local school officers is the selection of a capable corps of teachers." Little more can be given here than an enumeration and definition of the means used for training teachers in Indiana.

the colleges to turn out professional teachers as they turned out other professional men. In a lecture before the College of Professional Teachers, at Cincinnati, October, 1837, Rev. Alexander Campbell laid down the theory which has been followed generally in this state.¹⁷ Two years later Pres. Andrew Wylie, of Indiana university, himself a leading member of the Western College of Teachers, succeeded in having his board "establish a professorship to prepare teachers for the common schools." No money was forthcoming, however, and President Wylie did not live to see such work done in the state university. By resolution of the board of trustees in 1852 a normal course and model school was opened. Lectures on education and instruction in the whole duty of the teacher was to be its scope. Daniel Read was in charge with John C. Smith conducting the model school. This continued till Professor Read left in 1856, when it was discontinued. An attempt was made to revive it in 1865 under the charge of D. E. Hunter, superintendent of the Bloomington city schools. A normal institute, to be held during the first three weeks of August, was planned, but nothing came of this movement. In 1869 under Professor G. W. Hoss, late state superintendent, the work was revived, but the State Normal school was organized by that time and nothing further was done.¹⁸

¹⁷ *College of Teachers' Proceedings*, IV, 132. "The erection of two great normal schools, for the purpose of teaching teachers the art of teaching or of qualifying persons to communicate that knowledge requisite to the district schools, from which all the districts in a state are ultimately to be supplied with competent instructors, of literary and moral respectability. So important is this item in a national system, that, in the language of the justly celebrated M. Cousin, a 'state may be said to have done nothing for education unless it educates the teachers; for as is the teacher, so is the school.'"

¹⁸ S. B. Harding, *History of Indiana University*, 129.

In 1886 the department of pedagogics was ordered and at its head was placed H. G. Boone, superintendent of schools at Frankfort. This was continued until quite recently, 1907, when the department became the school of education of Indiana university.

Normal schools had been established in Massachusetts in 1838. The success and value of such institutions was soon recognized by teachers and they gradually found favor with the people. The advisability of establishing a normal school in Indiana was widely discussed by the free school propagandists of the forties. A state normal was not established then because the state was unable to pay the interest on its debts. The fight on the common schools in the fifties, both in the General Assembly and the supreme court, made it uncertain whether the state could maintain schools at all, and before that question was decided the Civil war opened. For these reasons, and not because its usefulness was questioned, a state normal school was not established till December 20, 1865.* Its purpose as stated in the law was "the preparation of teachers for teaching in the common schools of Indiana." The school was opened, January 6, 1870, on an annual appropriation for running expenses of \$7,500.00. The enrollment the first year was fifty-one and its work confined entirely to the common branches. Its numbers have steadily increased and its work broadened until last year it enrolled 1,720 students. While it was intended that the school should train teachers for the common or district schools, as a matter of fact the districts have been able to get only a few of its graduates. The graduates have been able to command such wages that only the city and high schools have been directly

* *Laws of Indiana, Special, 1865, ch. XXXVI.*

benefitted. Undergraduates, however, by the thousands, have gone to the district schools, carrying to every nook of the state some of the advantages of the school. In teachers' institutes and associations, also, the faculty of the normal have helped materially to increase the teaching ability of the state. The curriculum has been gradually broadened until now it includes an entire college course. From the beginning the normal school has maintained a model school where expert teachers show by example and let the novices learn by experience how to teach.

City high schools, both before and after the foundation of the state normal, have maintained normal departments to train teachers for their own schools. These have usually been taught by the superintendents or by special supervisors. Instances of the early normal high schools were to be found at Anderson in 1860, Richmond 1856, Peru in 1869.

Normal work has been done in many other institutions of the state. DePauw university maintained a school of pedagogy from 1885 to 1890, which under Arnold Tompkins and W. H. Mace, became well known. The Richmond normal, founded in 1883 by Cyrus W. Hodgins, enrolled before its close in 1887 over 1,000 teachers. These are only instances of a large number of such schools or departments, chief of which have been at the Central normal college of Danville, founded in 1878; Muncie National institute, founded about 1897; Tri-State college, founded at Angola, 1884; the Academy of the Immaculate Conception at Ferdinand, the Convent of Oldenburg; Gosben college, opened 1895; Huntington Central college, founded at Hartsville in 1850, Marion Normal college; Manchester college, founded in 1889; Oakland City college, founded about 1890; and the Teachers' College of Indianapolis. The latter was founded in 1882 by Eliza A. Blaker as a school for

training kindergartners and primary teachers. It made a specialty many years ago in domestic science teachers. This school alone has trained 10,000 teachers, over 3,000 of whom have finished some definite amount of professional training.

Besides these, there have been hundreds of temporary "summer normals," holding usually ten weeks, in which a modicum of methods has been taught. In these various schools all kinds of methods were taught in all kinds of ways to prospective teachers with all kinds of academic preparation. In institutes and associations these teachers, most of whom had had only a smattering of education and training, were addressed by educators and quacks from the four corners of the nation. It does not need to be pointed out that this superficial culture combined with great earnestness was a most fertile seed bed in which to plant educational fads. Every teacher was on the alert to find the best methods and consequently was keen to try every scheme which held out any promise of betterment. This condition was not unobserved by the leading educators, but teachers and patrons as a rule resented dictation in their school practices. Each teacher took pride in his freedom to teach in his own particular way; uniformity has usually been discouraged. The period from 1880 to 1900 was a reign of pedagogical anarchy. Gradually there was sifted from this abundant experience enough of good to form a tolerable, common basis for teaching.

The state board, and through it, the General Assembly, had been watching the situation and as soon as conditions looked promising began to assert the state authority over this field. In 1907, in connection with a teachers' wage law, certain educational and professional qualifications for teachers were laid down. These included graduation from a commis-

sioned high school, or its equivalent, and twelve weeks in a school maintaining a professional course for the training of teachers." By a supplementary act of the same year the state board was constituted a teachers' training board with power to regulate courses of study, selection of teachers, laboratories and general equipment for all schools intending to train teachers.²⁰ The State Normal school was taken as a standard. The state board interpreted its power broadly, as it was doubtless intended.²¹ At the same time the state board prescribed a rather rigid course of study to be pursued, in these accredited schools, by all prospective common school teachers. A later law enabled beginning teachers to substitute one year's work in a "standard college" for twelve weeks' training. This gave the state board the opportunity to define a "standard college." Finally the vocational education act of 1913 specified certain subjects to be taught in the schools and, in the case of county agents to supervise the teaching of agriculture, re-

²⁰ *Laws of Indiana*, 1907, ch. CL.

²¹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1907, ch. CXXXIX. This law put an end to the summer normal and consequently to the work of independent, self-taught educators, who had done a valuable service for the state during the preceding thirty years.

²² *State Superintendent's Report*, 1908, p. 236. "With this as a basis, the state teachers' training board will pass upon the efficiency of the school as indicated by its admission requirements, its course of study the qualifications of its instructors, its library, laboratory and training school facilities, and the proficiency and other conditions of its final examinations. Provided, That to be deemed qualified to teach in an accredited normal school or department a person shall be a graduate of a standard college, university, or technical school, of a normal school of equal rank with the Indiana State Normal school, or shall have demonstrated his fitness to teach by examination before the state teachers' training board upon the subject or subjects to be taught by such an instructor, and provided, further, that these provisions shall not apply to teachers or professors already employed in such normal schools or departments."

tained for the state board a determining voice in the selection of the teacher while in the case of the vocational work in the schools gave the supervision of it directly to the state board.²² Thus swiftly and completely the state board extended its authority over the field of professional training. The state board itself has been increased from time to time until it now has thirteen members and a staff of hired assistants numbering twenty-seven.

The instruction in more or less regularly organized and equipped schools was not the only means employed by the state to train teachers. For the benefit of those who could not be gathered together for classroom instruction and also as a means for giving official information, perhaps the county institute has been most important. There is not space here to go into the historical details of the county institute. Its origin goes far back of our state history. Its counterpart may be seen in clerical and medical organizations of a professional nature.

The purpose of the county institute has changed with the progress of education. At first it was intended as a short normal review course of the common branches.²³ The law of 1865 under which county institutes have since been held in no sense created that organization but only legalized and placed it

²² *Laws of Indiana*, 1913, ch. XXIV.

²³ Caleb Mills, *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, III, 609. "It is nothing else than an assembly of common school teachers convened for the purpose of a brief review of the branches usually taught in our common schools, under the direction of competent instructors. The principles of these studies are discussed and presented in the clearest and most simple manner by one master of the subject. The best mode of teaching is developed and explained, the happiest method of illustrating the various topics comprised in the circle of the teacher's labors and the most useful way of governing a school, are pointed out."

under state control."²² In the first volume of the *State School Journal*, 1856, there are reports from no less than a half dozen county institutes, and doubtless only a few of those held were reported. From 1860 to the enactment of the law of 1865 the state teachers' association fostered a series of county institutes each year. In 1860 eleven prominent educators were dispatched over the state to hold institutes in as many counties as possible. These were virtually one week schools of methods.²³ State Superintendent George W. Hoss, immediately after the passage of the law, prepared an elaborate circular of instructions for holding the county institutes.²⁴

For various reasons the state has never been able to control county institutes. Numerous attempts have been made to systematize its work but all have failed. In 1876 the county superintendents with the assistance of the state superintendent arranged a list of licensed instructors under state control. In 1880 the state board prepared a manual for holding institutes. From this point, about 1880, the character of

²² *Laws of Indiana, 1865*, ch. 1, sec. 159-161: "The several county school examiners are hereby required as a part of their duty to hold, or cause to be held, such teachers' institutes at least once in each year in their respective counties."

²³ See report of Henry County Teachers' Association, May 8, 1860, *Indiana School Journal*, 1860, p. 225, or one at Spiceland, July 31, 1860, p. 306. For a report of one of these "State Normal Institutes," see *State School Journal*, 1865, p. 228: "Superintendents of Institutes—The following named gentlemen have, in compliance with my solicitation, agreed to engage in the work of superintending institutes a portion of the coming vacation: Prof. E. J. Rice, Muncie; Hiram Hadley, Richmond; A. C. Shortridge, Indianapolis; J. M. Okrott, Terre Haute; D. E. Hunter, Bloomington; J. Harty, Lawrenceburg; E. G. Mead, Liberty. These gentlemen all have experience in superintending institutes. Examiners needing aid in this work will, we hope, confer with some of these, or with other experienced superintendents."

²⁴ *Indiana School Journal*, 1865, p. 221.

institute work began to change in the direction of lectures on professional subjects. The difficulties of the work have arisen from the fact that it is not possible to get enough competent men to hold ninety-two institutes, each one week in length, during the months of July and August. Relatively the county institute is not so valuable as it once was.²⁰

In the same class with the county institutes are the township institutes. The latter had their origin in the defects of the former. Meeting but once a year, at a time when teachers were least conversant with the school room difficulties and including from 75 to 200 members, the county institute was unable to meet the definite need which it was hoped the township meeting could. The township institute was legalized by an act of 1873.²¹ It seems to have been the purpose at the time to keep in session in the township one school where the teachers might visit and observe the work as a model school, with whatever explanation and discussion was necessary or appropriate. This purpose was never carried out, but in its place there has grown a reading course, designed about equally for professional training and general culture. The control is entirely with the state board which selects the topics for discussion or study and since 1884 prepares the outline. At first,

²⁰ Some years ago a County Institute Instructors' association was organized, with a view to systematizing this work, but it has not succeeded. Unfortunately, too many of our present county institutes are little more than chaetauquas, in which the entertainer with the largest stock of clever stories is most in demand.

²¹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1873, ch. XXV, sec. 9: "At least one Saturday in each month during which the public schools may be in progress shall be devoted to township institutes, or model schools for the improvement of the teachers, and two Saturdays may be appropriated at the discretion of the township trustees of any township. Such institute shall be presided over by a teacher or other person designated by the trustee of the township."

teachers were required to attend or forfeit a day's wages. This was changed in 1889 so that the teacher receives one day's wages for attending, providing he does the work assigned. The work frequently suffers from the lack of a township leader.²⁰

Closely associated in purpose with the county and township institutes is the Teachers' reading circle, organized by the State teachers' association in 1884.²¹ It has never received legal sanction directly, though it has been since its origin controlled largely by the state board, the state superintendent and his deputy being *ex officio* members of the reading circle board. Its purpose is to give value and direction to the teachers' reading. Usually two books are selected, one professional and one for general culture. The county superintendent is the county manager and the work is done through the township where the books selected are used as texts. This work is still more closely linked with the school system by basing the teachers' examination questions on the professional book of the reading circle. The reading circle board gives examinations on the books and certificates of these are accepted in lieu of grades on the science of education.²²

Important factors in the training of teachers and especially in producing public school sentiment have been the various teachers' associations of the state. Chief of these, though not the first, in point of time, is the Indiana State teachers' association. One of the first, if not the first, state convention of educators met at Indianapolis during the sitting of the General Assembly of 1836. Andrew Wylie, president of Indi-

²⁰ R. G. Boone, *Education in Indiana*, 263.

²¹ The movement was started at the December meeting of 1883.

²² *Minutes of State Board of Education*, October, 1885; F. A. Cotton, *Education in Indiana*, 126.

ana college, gave the principal address. During the period from that time to 1845 the leading Indiana educators belonged to the College of Teachers, an association which met annually at Cincinnati. The conventions at Indianapolis, heralds of our State teachers' association, which met from 1845 to 1855 for the purpose of educating public opinion in Indiana, have been noted previously.

In October, 1849, there was held at Mishawaka, a series of meetings which, in 1851, resulted in the Northern Indiana teachers' institute. Its meetings often lasted two weeks and resembled a normal school in the character of its work. Almost every section of the state then had some kind of teachers' organization more or less permanent. It was in accord with resolutions of two of such "institutes," one at Shelbyville, the other at Salem, that a circular was issued calling for a meeting to organize a permanent State teachers' association.²⁴

The first association met at Indianapolis, on Christmas day, 1854, under the chairmanship of William M. Daily, president of Indiana university. There were seven formal addresses at this first meeting, one of which was made by Horace Mann. A series of resolutions adopted shows a wide range of interest. The first resolution recommended the use of the Bible as a reader in every school; the second asked the Assembly to create the office of circuit superintendent of schools, one of whose duties should be to hold a series of teachers' institutes in his circuit; the third instructed the executive committee

²⁴ F. A. Cotton, *Education in Indiana*, 32. "The signers of the circular were: Caleb Mills, E. P. Cole, B. L. Lang, O. J. Wilson, G. W. Hoad, Charles Barnes, John Cooper, M. M. C. Hobbs, Rufus Patch, T. Taylor, J. Bright, Cyrus Natt, James G. May, B. T. Hoyt, Lewis A. Estes, J. S. Ferris, R. B. Abbott, George A. Chase and Elias Baily."

of the association to provide for institutes in different sections of the state; another asked each member to assist in organizing a teachers' association in his own county; still another appointed a committee to investigate the claims of the phonetic method of spelling. There were 178 teachers present. In the broader and higher fields of education no agency in Indiana has exerted a greater influence than this body. Its presidents have been the leading educators of the state.*

In 1877 those members of the State teachers' association south of the National road organized the Southern Indiana teachers' association. Likewise on July 9, 1883, the Northern Indiana teachers' association met for the first time at Rome City. These bodies met annually in the spring and followed the same general course as the parent association.

April 1, 1909, the Northern and Southern associations met at Indianapolis at the same time. The question of abandoning both organizations was discussed and the Southern voted to abandon but the Northern refused to do so. This object was later accomplished and now all meet together in one convention annually in the early fall.

In this summary review it is obviously impossible even to enumerate all the agencies active in Indiana for the improvement of the teachers but enough has

* Extended notices of its annual meetings are to be found in the Indianapolis papers. An historical sketch of the association will be found in *Education in Indiana*, 133. The proceedings of nearly all the meetings except the first are in the *Indiana School Journal*, and in recent years its *Annual Proceedings* have been published. There is also a brief sketch in Boone, *History of Education in Indiana*, 437: "Its work may be classed largely under four heads: 1. To create a better public sentiment in regard to public schools; 2, to suggest and influence school legislation; 3, to secure higher standards for teachers and better methods of teaching; 4, to extend the length of the school term."

been said to indicate the continued interest given to this phase of the educational system. One can not escape the observation that the trend is toward more systematic effort, controlled more and more by the state.

§ 170 THE CURRICULUM

What to teach has been almost as difficult to decide as how to teach. This problem has two divisions, the determination of the purpose of education and the choice of subjects. The old struggle between the classic subjects and the more modern or the so-called practical has been present either active or latent throughout. The ultimate purpose of public school education has always been a prominent question. Rather the two are just so many ways of stating the same question. Those who emphasized character and good citizenship as the purpose of education have, as a rule, been insistent for the old or classical subjects, while those who have championed the newer subjects have insisted just as strongly that the newer subjects were as capable of developing character and patriotism and at the same time fitting the children for useful occupation in the industrial world. Stated another way, the latter class of educators would assume for the schools the burdens of apprenticeship formerly borne by the industrial world. The former would turn out the graduates morally and physically sound, ready after a survey of the industrial world to choose and learn a trade or profession, while the latter claim for the schools the purpose of turning out graduates morally and physically sound, ready to take their places in the active world. The contest has gradually but steadily gone to the latter contestants. As shown in another chapter, the "three R's"—reading, writing, and arithmetic—the foundation of the old district schools, were essential-

ly practical and chiefly because they were, they became so endeared to the old-time patrons.

The law of March 6, 1865, on which the state school system rests, provided for instruction in "Orthography, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar and Good Behavior."²⁴ No further subject was added until May 5, 1869, when geography, physiology, and history of the United States were added. This same statute provided for the teaching of German on the demand of the parents of twenty-five children.²⁵ Each of these new subjects entered the curriculum on the plea of practical value rather than on that of mental discipline. History and geography had more trouble justifying themselves at the time than physiology. The latter brought a promise of relief from the sickness that prevailed periodically in all parts of the state. The common teachers as a rule objected to the new branches because there were no text books and the teachers themselves had had no training in the subjects.²⁶ From 1869 to 1895 no additions were made

²⁴ *Laws of Indiana*, 1865, ch. L.

²⁵ *Laws of Indiana, Special*, 1869, ch. XV. "Whenever the parents or guardians of twenty-five or more children in attendance at any school of a township, town, or city shall so demand, it shall be the duty of the school trustee or trustees of said township, town, or city, to procure efficient teachers and introduce the German language as a branch of study into such schools; and the tuition in said schools shall be without charge. *Provided*, Such demand is made before the teacher for said district is employed." This subject has never been classed as one of the common branches.

²⁶ Dr. R. T. Brown, in *Indiana School Journal*, XIV, 187, stated its case as follows: "The science of physiology has been introduced into the common schools of Indiana, chiefly, with a view to the value of the knowledge thus gained in its practical application in the maintenance and preservation of health. This wise and beneficent purpose, if not really defeated, has been badly crippled from the inability to obtain teachers qualified to take

to the list of common school subjects. Those taught during that period came to be and are yet known as the "common branches." March 14, 1895, the General Assembly added scientific temperance to the list, requiring all teachers to be licensed to teach it and all school trustees to have it taught.²² This subject was placed in the curriculum at the insistence of the temperance propagandists and while it accomplished a great deal of good it has failed to sustain itself on an equality with the "common branches."

Scientific temperance was the last addition to the list of common branches which all common school teachers are required to be able to teach. However, besides these branches a number of subjects are taught in the schools, either by teachers prepared especially for such work or by the regular teacher in answer to special demand. The oldest of these subjects is German which, as noted above, was given provisional standing by the law of 1869. This subject has received most attention in city schools where a considerable number of Germans usually would be found, connected by their peculiar societies and desirous of preserving the language and customs of the fatherland. This work has in nearly all cases been done by special teachers.

charge of this branch of instruction. This difficulty was unavoidable, growing out of the fact that physiology, until within a few years past, has been confined to the medical profession, and was studied by that profession, more in reference to its application to the cure of disease than with reference to the maintenance of health." *Indiana School Journal*, XV, 236 "United States History is one of the branches required by the law of our state to be taught in the schools, and yet among 'Methods' suggested in teachers' institutes, and recommended in teachers' journals, but little attention is given to methods in this. In fact, if touched upon at all, it is usually passed over very lightly, as a kind of necessary nuisance."

²² *Laws of Indiana*, 1895, ch. CLIX.

Music, as a subject in the school curriculum, has had an interesting career. In the days when the district school was in its prime there was a singing school in each district usually with the schoolmaster as teacher. From 1860 to 1890 interest waned, although the subject never lacked advocates in teachers' meetings. About 1890 the attention of educators was again called to its culture and social value. By 1904 it had found its way into practically all city schools. The following year a committee of the State teachers' association reported a tentative course of study which with some modification was adopted for the state course of study. A customary union of the theoretical and practical appears in this when the subject is commended particularly for its cultural value and the course of study arranged so as to lead to the art of music rather than the science.⁶⁶ Finally, in 1907, in an act defining and distinguishing elementary and high schools, music was placed as a required subject in the high school.⁶⁷

Industrial education in various forms has been a part of the actual course of study in the state for nearly a half century. In the colleges it is even older, having been tried three-quarters of a century ago at Hanover and a few years later at Wabash. However, during the reign of the district school it was dormant. With the rise of the city school systems it again made its appearance. For many years, at least till about 1890, it was confined to the elementary schools and took the form of paper cutting, sewing and like exercises, borrowed from the kindergarten. In 1891 the General Assembly permitted Indianapolis to establish a manual training high school "wherein shall be taught the practical use of

⁶⁶ *State Superintendent's Report*, XXII, 126, 325; XXIII, 122; XXIV, 612.

⁶⁷ *Laws of Indiana*, 1907, 182.

tools and mechanical implements."⁴¹ This was a frank assumption by the public schools of the duty of teaching craft. In 1904, Fort Wayne established a similar school. The work done in this school, which will illustrate what was being done in many others at the time, consisted of wood working, forging, mechanical drawing, pattern making, machine shop practice, molding, sewing and cooking.⁴²

Agriculture has been discussed as a branch of study in the public schools at least since 1850. Two reasons appear for its lack of success in the early years. Chief of these, it seems, was a feeling among the farmers that "book learning" and actual farming had no more affinity for each other than oil and water. On the other hand neither text book nor method was at hand for the teacher. Governors Wright and Williams were especially interested in this work, but no actual results were obtained. No progress was made until Frank L. Jones became state superintendent in 1899. During his term of six years he consolidated rural schools and laid the foundation for their great improvement from 1903 to 1909 under F. A. Cotton. The "city drift" of the schools was checked and a beginning made for the teaching of agriculture, so that when the statute made it compulsory in 1913, the law could at least in part be carried out.⁴³

⁴¹ *Laws of Indiana, 1891, ch. CXLI.*

⁴² *State Superintendent's Report, XXIII, 367.*

⁴³ *State Superintendent's Report, XXIII, 530.* "Heretofore our entire school system has looked toward city life. Not only the city graded schools, city high schools, and state universities, but the nonpublic schools, both secondary and higher, and even the rural schools themselves, have given an educational trend toward the city. The teachers, the text-books, the ideals, emphasize the city professions, while the important everyday affairs of the farm and farm home, by sheer neglect, have been discredited even in the rural schools."

From these facts it is apparent there was accumulating in the public schools a vast amount of activity with no very definite legal status. The law of 1907, as noted above, had specified certain subjects which had to be taught in every commissioned high school; but it had also provided that "such additional subjects as any local board of education may elect" might also be taught. The "specified" subjects formed the so-called "standard" or "classical" high school, whose graduates were admitted without question into "standard" colleges. The unnamed, but permitted, subjects characterized the manual training, industrial or commercial high schools, whose graduates were admitted to "standard" colleges with a condition.

This was the illogical position of the public school curriculum when the General Assembly convened in 1913. As a preliminary to the solution of this question Governor Thomas R. Marshall was authorized by the Assembly of 1911 to appoint a commission on industrial and agricultural education.⁴⁴ After nearly two years of investigation, during which public meetings were held in various parts of the state, the commission made a report. The general situation was set forth in a few statements such as the following: The products of the farms for 1909 were valued at \$183,000,000; those of the factories at \$579,075,000, of which \$244,700,000 was added by manufacture. The cities grew thirty per cent. during the previous decade and the country five and one-half per cent. Over half the children leave school unprepared to earn a living. Specialization has broken down the old apprentice system, leaving large masses

⁴⁴ *Laws of Indiana*, 1911 p. 407. This commission consisted of Will A. Yarling, John G. Brown, Frank Duffy, Thomas F. Fitzgibbon, John L. Ketcham, Frank D. McIntire and U. G. Weatherly.

of the workers without a general education either cultural or industrial. The course of study in our schools is determined by the requirements of college entrance though only a meagre part ever go to college. The schools of the state, except Purdue university, were making little progress in putting pupils in touch with the opportunities for life work. The people were ready and anxious to have their schools so changed as to prepare for life work.

The commission recommended a readjustment of the schools to conform to the new conditions, even suggesting that the state supplement local revenues to the extent of two-thirds of the whole amount spent on instruction in vocational and technical subjects.

These recommendations were carried out in the law of 1913, the most radical change ever made in the school law of the state. It must be kept in mind, however, that many of the changes thus legalized had long been made in actual school work.*

The law of February 22, 1913, enabled school corporations to establish vocational schools, or such departments in schools already established, and placed these on the same footing as other public schools. Vocational education was defined as "any education the controlling purpose of which is to fit for profitable employment." The field was divided into industrial, or training for trades and crafts, agricultural, and domestic science. Evening classes were provided to accommodate those persons employed during the whole day, and part time classes for those who could spare part of each day for school work. Elementary agriculture was made compulsory in all town and township schools; elementary industrial

* For a summary of what had already been done, see *Commission Report 93*, *State Superintendent's Report*, XXVIII, 189 seq.; XVIII, 601 seq.

training in all town and city schools; and elementary domestic science in all schools whatsoever. The state board was ordered to prepare courses of study for the three new branches and enforce their application. For this purpose the state board was strengthened by the appointment of three additional men interested in vocational work, one of whom should represent employees and one employers. The state superintendent was further directed to appoint a deputy whose sole business was to supervise vocational school work, and to join with Purdue in selecting a supervisor of agricultural education, and in co-operation with Purdue and a county committee to appoint county agents to supervise agriculture in each county.

It is too early to determine what the results of the vocational law will be, but theoretically it has done two things; completed the power of the state over the school system and put the two parties to the long contest over the content and purpose of education on an equal standing.⁴⁰

The second phase of the development of the curriculum has been the selection of text books. Teaching in Indiana has always been based frankly on the text book method. Pupils study the text book and teachers teach it. Consequently the selection of texts has had greater significance than otherwise it should. During the era of the ungraded district school any text book was used. Instances are told in which most of the children had for their readers certain books of the Bible, one Bible sufficing for a whole family. Uniformity was of little concern where each pupil

⁴⁰ The colleges have not yet changed their entrance requirements to include vocational work, but doubtless it will soon be done.

was in a class by himself and where the art of teaching consisted principally in pronouncing difficult words and in holding the pupil's book to ascertain if he had memorized it accurately. The city schools of the state were graded between 1850 and 1860, the rural schools between 1870 and 1880. The school law of 1873 empowered the county board of education to adopt texts for the district schools but not for the cities. Before this there had been considerable work toward uniformity both by the state superintendent and by the State teachers' association. At its November meeting, 1853, the state board of education adopted a list of texts.⁴⁷ In 1861 some high school texts were added to the list. The board was unable to enforce uniformity and was relieved of the duty by the law of 1865. From 1873 to 1889 texts were selected by the county boards. So much dissatisfaction arose on account of the corrupting influence of text book publishing companies on schoolboards and teachers that in 1889 the General Assembly constituted the state board of education a board of school book commissioners. This law required the use of the adopted texts. In 1913 the selection of high school texts was also placed in the hands of the commission.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Boone, *History of Education in Indiana*, 267; "McGuffey's Eclectic Spelling Book, the Indiana Readers (IIV), Webster's Dictionary, Butler's Grammar, Kay's Rithmetics (IIII), and Mitchell's Geographies, to which three years later were added Watren's Physical Geography, Bernard's School History of the United States, Payson, Danton and Scribner's System of Penmanship, Wilson's Elements of Punctuation, Smith's Juvenile Designer, Martin's Orthopedist, and Brookfield's First Book in Composition. Besides them, Cowdry's Moral Lessons, and the American School Hymn Book were recommended for use." Indiana university library now has a large collection of text-books used in the schools of Indiana during the past century.

⁴⁸ *Laws of Indiana*, 1913, ch. LVIII.

§ 171 STATE SYSTEM

Public education is now the most important activity of the state. It is no longer a mere favor offered to the people for acceptance or rejection. The law of March 8, 1897, the truancy law, makes the state the active guardian of every child from the age of 8 to 14, so far as to see that he attends school a minimum length of time each year, or until he has reached a certain degree of proficiency. The law has been amended frequently but the principle of compulsory education is accepted and honestly carried out, by a force of truant officers controlled by the state. The total valuation of the public school property of the state in 1916 was \$54,849,098. For maintenance the elementary schools cost, during the same year, \$11,731,432, the commissioned high schools, \$3,501,614; certified high schools, \$249,366, non-certified high schools, \$142,636. There were 7,820 township and city institutes held at a cost of \$350,545. The elementary schools were in session an average of 154 days; the high schools, 166 days. There were 439 commissioned high schools, 144 certified, 136 non-certified, 413 consolidated, and 5,401 district schools. From the common branches there were graduated 27,823; from commissioned high schools, 9,844; from certified high schools, 793. The total enrollment in the public schools of the state was 564,252. Of these 89,313 were in the first grade and only 12,252 in the twelfth; 288,016 were in townships, 48,734 in towns and 227,502 in cities. The total enumeration for the state was 757,684. There were employed in the township schools 11,122 teachers; in towns, 1,645; in cities, 6,881; total, 19,648; in elementary schools, 14,305; in high schools, 2,397; ward principals, 774; high school principals, 771; supervisors and special teachers, 1,150, superintendents, 251. The superin-

tendents received in salaries \$373,411; supervisors and special teachers, \$590,991; high school principals, \$695,152; ward principals, \$641,487, high school teachers, \$1,918,080; and elementary teachers, \$7,334,390.

Children who attend before they are six are placed in the kindergartens. These schools are not a necessary part of the system but are maintained in many cities. By the law of March 9, 1907, the first eight grades constitute the elementary school and the next four, the high school. Many superintendents have discarded this division. What is called the "six-six" or "three-three, three-three" plan is finding favor. Under this plan grades one, two and three constitute the primary school; grades four, five, and six, the intermediate; grades seven, eight, and nine are the junior high school and grades ten, eleven, and twelve, the senior high school. The work in the primary school is not departmental, the work in the intermediate is part departmental. The common school work is finished in the seventh grade and five years are devoted to high and vocational work.

In order that rural schools might be graded and have equal advantages with city schools a movement was begun by State Superintendent D. M. Geeting in 1899 to abandon the small district schools and transport the pupils to a central school in the township. The General Assemblies of 1899, 1901 and 1907 encouraged this movement. In 1916 there were 706 consolidated schools in 76 counties; 37,456 children were transported and 2,164 districts had been abandoned. This left 5,969 one-room district schools in the state. This consolidation has resulted in 203 high schools with their advantages.

Finally, in 1913 and 1915, the General Assembly provided a plan for teachers' pensions which if suc-

cessful will help materially to make teaching a profession, so that all the annoying rulings of boards and acts of General Assemblies, necessary under the present licensing system, may be abandoned and the teachers become as free and independent as other professional men."⁴⁴

⁴⁴ There is an abundance of literature on the schools of Indiana. The best single volume is R. G. Boone, *History of Education in Indiana* (1901). The chief sources used for this chapter have been the *Indiana School Journal*, *Reports of the State Superintendents of Public Instruction*, *House and Senate Journals*, *Documentary Journals* and the *Indianapolis Journal and Sentinel*. For pictures of both the good and bad district schools, see an article entitled "Some Western Schoolmasters," by Edward Eggleston, in *Scribner's* for March, 1879. The statistics for 1876 are used in the last section because of the extraordinary fluctuations in expenditures since then.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE TARIFF QUESTION

§ 172 INDIANA AND THE TARIFF

By the close of the seventies the political interest in the money question was waning in Indiana. The Bland-Allison law passed over the President's veto, February 28, 1878, was a compromise of all parties. It soon put gold, silver, bank notes and greenbacks in circulation at par, disposed of the Resumption bogey and made it of no consequence whether the national debt were paid in gold or greenbacks.

The Greenback party, robbed of this issue, was compelled to fall back on its industrial program. The prices of farm produce after the panicky years from 1873 to 1878 began to improve and the Grange went out of politics. The Republicans as a party had been steadily drifting toward a high protective policy, believing that the best way to insure good prices for farm produce was to increase the number of men engaged in manufactures and by the same ratio decrease farm products. The result has shown that at least politically it was a good policy. The farmers of the great northwest have always sustained the Republican party on a clean cut issue of the tariff. So in 1880 it was decided to go before the voters with that issue.

The Greenback party did not fail to enter the canvass. On April 29, 1880, its representatives met at Indianapolis and listened to an address by Gilbert De la Matyr who was then representing the Indianapolis district in congress. His keynote speech as well as the campaign which followed was leveled at

capital and capitalists. The party favored abolishing the national banks and perhaps all banks, even abolishing credit altogether, contending that currency need not be handled by banks but could be issued directly from the treasury of the people's government. In a general way the platform forecasted what has been done in the last twenty years along the line of industrial regulation. It demanded, especially, an interstate commerce board, or law, to regulate transportation. Richard Gregg, of Dearborn county, was nominated for governor and received 14,881 votes; less than half what the party polled two years earlier.¹

The two old parties seemed in no hurry to begin the gubernatorial campaign of 1880. The Republicans preferred to wait upon their own national convention at Chicago. An uninstructed delegation of Republicans went to Chicago, June 2, 1880, to see the contest between the "Stalwarts" and the "Half Breeds" of the Republican party, the Grant Conkling and the Blaine-Sherman wings. General Harrison, chairman of the delegation, kept out of the fight and the state supported Garfield in the compromise. On the 17th of June, following, at Indianapolis, the party chose a state ticket headed by Col. Albert G. Porter, of Indianapolis. The state platform was a short, colorless declaration of platitudes, permitting of considerable latitude in interpretation.²

On June 9, preceding, the Democrats in a rather stormy session had nominated Franklin Landers for governor on a long platform with no distinguishing features.³ Each party made slight concessions to the laborers in the demand for industrial legislation.

¹ Full proceedings of the convention are given in the *Indianapolis Journal*, April 30, 1880.

² *Indianapolis Journal*, June 18, 1880.

³ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 18, 1880.

The Democrats made a gallant effort to secure the nomination, on the Democratic ticket, of Thomas A. Hendricks for the presidency. At Cincinnati, June 22, he was placed before the convention by Senator Voorhees in an eloquent eulogy, but the speaker was outclassed in oratory by Daniel Daugherty, of Pennsylvania, who had for his subject the hero of Gettysburg, General W. S. Hancock. Failing to land the presidency they succeeded in the vice-presidency, nominating William H. English, a banker of Indianapolis, a man of long public service and high distinction.

As an evidence of how completely the money question was dropped, Franklin Landers, a Greenbacker on the financial question, and W. H. English, a hard money man, were running on the same ticket with De la Matyr, a Greenbacker-socialist.

The contest was on national issues, the tariff principally. Landers and Porter resorted to the old-time method of joint debate for awhile during the campaign, but it seems Porter had an advantage in this and it was soon dropped. The general prosperity of the times operated in favor of the Republican ticket and it was elected by a plurality of 6,953 for Porter. Garfield carried the state by 6,642.* The General Assembly was Republican and elected Benjamin Harrison to succeed Joseph E. McDonald in the United States senate.

In the election of 1882 the Democrats made a clean sweep of the state government excepting those officers elected in 1880 and serving a four-year term, by pluralities of about 10,000. The General Assembly was Democratic in both branches and the congressional delegation was nine to four, the Republicans succeeding in the Sixth, Seventh, Eleventh and

* Full election statistics are given in *Documentary Journal*,

Thirteenth.* The national Greenback ticket polled 13,520 votes, a gain over 1880 of 534 votes. The total falling off in the poll was 26,066, of which the Republican ticket lost 21,934.

The temperance issue was present in the campaign in the form of a constitutional amendment for prohibition, passed as a joint resolution by the preceding General Assembly and opposed in the Democratic platform of 1882. The Republicans declared the amendment was non-partisan and while not put forward as a party measure the party favored leaving the question to a vote of the people. Likewise the Republicans had passed a joint resolution for woman suffrage, for making all county and state offices four years. These four amendments would have to pass the next General Assembly and their opponents, it seems, took this plan of registering their opposition.⁶

The underlying political issue in Indiana in the four presidential campaigns from 1880 to 1892 inclusive was the protective tariff. This issue was more or less obscured at times by state issues or personal rivalries, but remained the one great divisive issue between Republicanism and Democracy. The state was gradually changing from a rural, agricultural society to one more equally divided between rural and urban, with more diversified interests. The Republican party, inheriting the traditions of the Whigs, has always been on the alert to improve the economic and commercial enterprises. They now put forward the protective policy as one calculated to diversify home industries and build up a home market with a view of ultimately exporting the sur-

Pt. I, 1880. Secretary of State, 131.

⁵ Indianapolis Journal, Nov. 22, 1892.

⁶ Charles Kettleborough, *Constitution Making in Indiana*, II, 207. *Laws of Indiana*, Special, 1881. Joint Resolutions, 719-720

plus as finished products, rather than as raw materials. Although there were all shades of belief in both parties, the Democrats favored, generally, freedom of trade, applying home labor and capital to that form of industry most favored by location and natural resources and remaining unhampered to buy in the open markets of the world.

The Greenbackers first awakened the dormant political sentiments of Indiana in 1884 with their national Greenback convention at Indianapolis, May 28 and 29, 1884. They placed General B. F. Butler at the head of their ticket on a platform declaring generally for federal regulation of commerce, especially of railroads, for an income tax, laws providing for sanitary places for workmen to labor, inspection of mines, and protection of workmen from dangerous machinery, against the importation of contract labor, for popular election of United States senators, and for woman suffrage. They straddled the tariff by declaring it a secondary issue and that the one great issue was the currency.*

The Republicans of Indiana were not entirely harmonious over the nomination of James G. Blaine for president at Chicago. The old followers of Grant and Morton would have preferred some other candidate, their only assigned reason being that Blaine could not be elected. However, there was no one but President Arthur for his opponents to unite on and Arthur had no enthusiastic supporters in Indiana. The Republicans met in state convention in Indianapolis, June 18, 1884, and nominated William H. Calkins, of Laporte, a soldier with an unexceptionable record, who had been a representative in congress from the Tenth and Thirteenth districts since 1877. The platform declared in favor of calling a

* *Indianapolis State Journal*, June 4, 1884.

constitutional convention and of making places where labor was employed sanitary and safe. It denounced contract prison labor and the Metropolitan police law passed by the Democrats of the last General Assembly. Col. Will Cumback tried hard to get a hearing on the temperance question but failed. The platform was practically a copy of that of 1880, the defeat of 1882 having been attributed to the inclusion of strange doctrines into the platform of that year.

The Democrats had no trouble in nominating Col. Isaac P. Gray for governor over David Turpie and Gen. M. D. Manson, the latter receiving the nomination for lieutenant-governor. The platform was long and raised no state issue with the Republicans except on the constitutional convention and the Metropolitan police law.* Practically the same recognition was given labor as in the Republican and Greenback platforms.[†]

The Democrats made an effort this year to secure the nomination for the presidency for Joseph E. McDonald but it seems Thomas A. Hendricks, who was nominated for the vice-presidency at Chicago, July 11, on a reform ticket headed by Grover Cleveland, was the more popular. The campaign which followed was marred by personalities disgraceful to the press of the state and culminated in a libel suit by James G. Blaine against the *Sentinel*. The personal and family affairs of the two presidential candidates were examined in a way that would hardly be permitted in a police court. The result of the election was a plurality in Indiana of 6,512 for Cleveland.

* This law took the appointment and control of the Indianapolis police out of the hands of the city government and placed them with a board appointed by the governor, secretary, auditor and treasurer of state. *Laws of Indiana, 1883*, ch. LXXIV.

† *Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 26, 1884.

The Prohibition party received 3,018 votes, the Greenbackers 8,716, showing that the latter party had about run its course. The General Assembly was overwhelmingly Democratic.

The off year election of 1886 created no widespread interest so far as significant issues were concerned. The Democrats declared a protective tariff legal robbery, favored the law recently passed prohibiting aliens from owning lands in the state, demurred to the surplus in the United States treasury, declared for a license system for regulating the saloons, and finally favored the constitutional amendment making county offices four years, which they had so recently opposed. The Republicans did not hold their convention till September 2. Their platform was little else than an indictment of the Democratic party. The temperance party failed to get any concession from either old party. The tariff remained the issue. The Republicans reversed the decision of 1884 and won the state offices by pluralities less than 5,000. The state senate remained Democratic and the house became Republican. Seven out of the thirteen congressmen elected were Republicans.

Third party dissatisfaction grew from year to year. Chief of the insurgents were the Prohibitionists, the civil service reformers and the various organizations seeking some aid for laborers. A fight over the office of lieutenant-governor in which the Democrats succeeded in keeping it from Robert S. Robertson who had been elected to fill a vacancy, helped to keep up party strife.

Political corruption, it seems, had been increasing since the war. The old election law permitted great opportunities for fraud at the polls. Each party had shouted corruption and fraud at each other, especially since 1876. There can hardly be any doubt that

repeating, colonizing, vote buying, ballot box stuffing and stealing were practiced, but how much can never be told. Two notorious cases of the kind mark this period. One of these was exposed in the famous Talley Sheet forgery at Indianapolis at the November election, 1886. Sam Coy, Democratic county chairman of Marion and W. F. A. Bernhamer, an election inspector of the same party, were sent to prison by the United States courts.¹⁰

§ 173 AN INDIANA PRESIDENT

The Republicans were presented with the same difficulty and the same opportunity in 1888 as the Democrats had had in 1884. They had not only one, but a pair of favorite sons, Benjamin Harrison and Walter Q. Gresham, both being considered of presidential size, just as McDonald and Hendricks had been in 1884. Both Gresham and Harrison had served in the army with distinction, the former becoming major general, the latter a brigadier. Each had been honored by state and national office, the former in the legislature, in the President's cabinet and on the federal bench, the latter as reporter of the supreme court and United States senator. Both were men of unchallenged character and conceded ability. Both were loyal Republicans but Gresham was the more liberal in his views. His position at Washington and on the federal district and circuit benches had kept him from the wide personal acquaintance which Harrison had made in his several campaigns over the state. The Republican convention, September 2, 1886, had endorsed Harrison and a powerful organization supported him at the Chicago national convention, June 19, 1888, where on the eighth ballot

¹⁰ Coy himself gives an interesting account of this in *The Great Conspiracy*. Coy was a city councilman at the time and was not put out of office for his crime, but was later re-elected.

and on the sixth day of the convention he was nominated. This was the first time Indianians had had a chance to vote for a "favorite son" for the presidency with any prospect of electing him, and this was the most distinctive feature of the campaign.

But there were other candidates in plenty. The Prohibitionists at Indianapolis, March 15, nominated Jasper S. Hughes for governor on a platform supporting prohibition and woman suffrage.

The Democrats, April 26, nominated Courtland C. Matson for governor on one of their favorite "reform" platforms, a reform of the tariff, of the civil service and of industrial laws.

The Prohibition national convention also met at Indianapolis, May 30, and nominated Clinton B. Fisk for the presidency. The Republicans at Indianapolis, August 8, nominated Gen. Alvin P. Hovey for governor, on another "reform" platform denouncing Democratic gerrymandering, "infamous management of the insane hospital," the "usurpations of Green Smith and his theft of the office of lieutenant-governor," "the Sim Coy forgeries," and the "wholesale corruption in the Southern Prison."

President Cleveland of course was standing for re-election on a tariff "reform" platform, tinged lightly by civil service "reform." Both parties rode the word "reform" hard. It had been a rather attractive term since 1876. One not conversant with the situation would think from the literature and documents of the period that the platform makers were a party of missionaries but just arrived on a mission of reform to an ignorant and debauched people. One almost regrets that Sim Coy was not permitted along with W. W. Dudley to help in this great reformation. There is also another humorous side to the campaign. What was the unfortunate President Cleveland, who had sent a substitute to the

war, to do in company with Generals Harrison, Matson, Myers and Hovey! It was obviously impossible for him to keep up with these men on horseback and in the finish he was left behind.

The campaign was not pitched on a high plane. Criminal accusations were bandied back and forth in the press and on the stump with a freedom found only in barrooms and police courts. This does not apply, however, to the leading candidates. Harrison and Cleveland took no part and Matson and Hovey conducted a campaign becoming men of the highest type. But on the streets and in the byways and alleys there was pollution and filth.

The issue was the tariff. Both old parties put forth every effort. Speakers of national reputation spoke in almost every county of the state. James G. Blaine spoke in Indianapolis, October 11. Governor Hill, of New York, answered him next day from the same platform. General Harrison was assailed for his position on the labor question, was charged with having been a corporation attorney, with having voted in the United States senate on every occasion against labor interests, with having said that if he were governor he would quell strikes with the military power, forcing laborers to their posts at the point of the bayonet, and with having said that one dollar per day was wages enough for any laboring man. Senator Joseph W. Bailey was brought from Texas to speak in Indiana on that subject. Harrison's position on the Chinese question was also scanned. He was charged with favoring "Coolie" importations to take the place of laboring men. A C. Rankin, a prominent Knight of Labor, was brought from Pittsburgh by the Republicans to stump the state and show how inseparable prosperity for laborers and the protective system were. Scarcely a public orator of any note in the United States but

was heard in Indiana. Train loads of political literature were distributed.

All this was legitimate and worth while but beneath this, sinister movements were carried on that compromised seriously the reputation of the state. There had been no time since the state was organized but that 10,000 votes would change the result in the state. The Democrats controlled a "solid south," the Republicans controlled an equally solid block of electoral votes. No active campaign was necessary by either party in these strongholds. A few doubtful states such as New York, Indiana, New Jersey, Ohio, and Illinois in the order named were regarded as pivotal and became a political battle ground.

What this means may be shown by a brief review. Since the Civil war Indiana and New York have taken part in fourteen presidential campaigns. In only one campaign has there been no candidate on one of the dominant party tickets from one or the other of these states. In 1868 Horatio Seymour represented New York and Schuyler Colfax, Indiana; in 1872 Horace Greeley represented New York, in 1876 Samuel J. Tilden and William A. Wheeler were from New York and Thomas A. Hendricks from Indiana; in 1880 Chester A. Arthur was from New York and William H. English from Indiana, in 1884 Grover Cleveland was from New York and Thomas A. Hendricks from Indiana, in 1888 Cleveland and Levi P. Morton were from New York and Benjamin Harrison from Indiana; in 1892 the representative candidates remained the same except that Whitelaw Reid of New York took the place of Morton; in 1896 no representative was on either ticket from the two states; in 1900 Roosevelt was from New York; in 1904 Roosevelt and Alton B. Parker were from New York and Charles W. Fairbanks from Indiana; in 1908 John W. Kern was from Indiana and William

Sherman from New York; in 1912 Roosevelt and Sherman were from New York and Thomas Marshall from Indiana; in 1916 Charles E. Hughes was from New York and Fairbanks and Marshall from Indiana; in 1920 Franklin D. Roosevelt was from New York. Out of twenty-seven leading candidates for the presidency during the period the two states have furnished twelve; Indiana two and New York ten; out of the same number of candidates for vice-president they have furnished seventeen, Indiana nine and New York eight. During twenty years the president has been from one of the two states and during thirty-six, the vice-president. Only twice during that time has the vote of Indiana been given to an unsuccessful candidate. In 1876 its vote went to Tilden by a plurality of 5,515; in 1916 to Hughes by a small plurality. For this reason Indiana has been a political battle ground where the fight never ceases and where every officer is a political soldier and every voter a politician.

As suggested above it would be strange if unfair methods did not often find employment in such a field. October 31, 1888, there was printed in the *Indianapolis Sentinel* a letter from W. W. Dudley, national treasurer of the Republican party, to a Republican county chairman, explaining in some detail the last resort methods in political campaigns. These instructions in brief, were to locate and dissipate if possible your opponents' treasury; then make out lists of the floaters in each precinct, divide them up into small groups—"blocks of five"—over which appoint a man with necessary funds to buy them; secure a considerable number of reliable men to stand around the polls on election day to see that no untoward accident happens. The money to purchase floaters was gathered from the four corners of the earth by a system of conscription varying all the

way from extremely voluntary hoodlums and corporations down to blackmailed, petty, political officers, often extending down to an assessment on school teachers. There had been rumors of wholesale corruption funds coming from outside sources to aid in "carrying Indiana" for a number of years. In 1876 the Democratic national committee telegraphed the party managers to buy "seven more mules" for it, during which time the eastern Republicans carried on a lively correspondence with certain "Indian agents" in Indiana. In 1880 the two national committees were personally represented by financial agents at Indianapolis. It was charged that they disbursed a half million dollars. Thus doubtless was an exaggeration for neither party would care to purchase more than 20,000 votes and the purchase price was usually less than ten dollars each, with "an added ten to get the oil to the hot box." This would only necessitate a corruption fund of about \$200,000 from outside sources. Bad as the case was it is only representative of a period through which democratic government was passing. As soon as the truth became generally known that every dollar of corruption money had to be replaced by society, usually in the form of taxation, a remedy was found.

The result of the campaign of 1888 was a Republican victory of small proportions. Harrison carried the state by 2,387 votes over his chief competitor; Hovey for governor was elected by 2,200. The Union Labor party polled 2,694 votes; the Prohibition 9,877.¹¹

¹¹ *Documentary Journal, Secretary of State's Report, 1888*, for the election statistics of this year. A good account of this campaign is by R. C. Buley in *Indiana Magazine of History*, X, 188.

CHAPTER XXXIII

INDIANA CITIES

§ 174 EARLY CONDITIONS

The settlers of Indiana were not city builders. The ancestors of those of Irish, Scotch and English blood for time out of mind had been countrymen, and those of the Germans had quit the cities a century before the settlement of Indiana. It is not surprising then that the early Indiana towns, excepting Vincennes, New Harmony and perhaps Vevay, were merely neighborhoods. There never has been in Indiana any fast social line between the rural and urban dwellers; what little distinction has existed has been the result largely of statute law. The early commoners of Vincennes, the founders of Harmony and the proprietors of New Harmony and the vine-dressers of Vevay were the only city folks of the early days.

The first General Assembly of Indiana enacted a general law for the incorporation of towns. By this the town government was vested in the hands of a board of five trustees, elected annually. This board had power to preserve order, restrain vice, and regulate or provide supplies of food and water.¹ It was as

¹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1816, ch. XVII. The board of trustees "shall have full power from time to time, and at all times, to make, ordain, establish and execute, such by-laws and ordinances in writing, not inconsistent with the laws and constitution of this state, as they shall deem useful and necessary for the good government of said corporation, and to prevent and remove nuisances, to restrain and prohibit gambling, to provide for licensing, regulating or restraining theatrical or other public shows or amusements within the corporation, to regulate and establish

simple as the old New England township government, after which it was patterned. The next General Assembly made the matter still simpler, enabling speculators to lay off and organize towns before the coming of settlers by filing a plat of the town with the county recorder.²

Special acts of incorporation began with the first General Assembly at Indianapolis. February 3, 1825, Madison in a special charter was given power to buy a fire engine and compel a company of firemen to drill. Four years later the town board was allowed to license "tippling houses," "suppress immorality, intoxication and rioting" and pave the streets at the property owners' expense when two-thirds of them so petitioned.³ The charter of Salem, January 20, 1826, provided for seven trustees, who, when elected, should appoint for the town a clerk, assessor, collector, and treasurer. The trustees were furthermore required to publish a list of their expenditures semi-annually in the *Indiana Farmer*, a local paper at Salem. The Assembly of 1826 forbade the trustees of Jeffersonville from levying a tax on lots higher than fifty cents on the hundred dollars of value.

It soon became the fashion for each town to have a special act or charter. The form was general though each had certain peculiarities. While the grant of power was general in the law of 1824 yet it seems few towns undertook anything except routine duties without special authorization from the Assem-

markets, to sink and keep in repair public wells, to keep in repair all necessary streets, alleys and drains, and to pass regulations necessary for the same agreeable to the plan of said town."—Sec. 6, p. 128. Compare this with the borough government of Vincennes; *Indiana Magazine of History*, V, 1.

² *Laws of Indiana*, 1817, ch. LXXXII.

³ *Laws of Indiana*, 1825, ch. XXXIV.

bly. Thus in 1831, the Madison board was permitted to appoint a marshal.⁴ In Lawrenceburg under the charter of 1815 the voters elected a "president and council" to conduct the town government. The ancient "Borough of Vincennes" had its charter so amended in 1831 that it might elect, besides the board of trustees, three assistant trustees from each ward, a president, and a borough constable.⁵ This second body of assistant law-makers seems to have been a novelty. The borough was also to own the ferry over the Wabash.

The charter of Richmond, January 31, 1834, after declaring that only "all free white male citizens of this state of the age of twenty-one years and upward, residing within the limits of the town, assessed for and having paid a town tax, shall be taken and deemed citizens thereof," provided for the election annually of a council of thirteen members, a first and a second burgess, one high constable, one treasurer, one clerk, one assessor, and such other officer as might be deemed necessary. The council had power to appoint a board of health, erect street lamps, hire night watchmen, approve weights and measures, regulate auctions, license theatres, shows, saloons and restrain gambling, to declare the weight of loaves of bread, the size of bricks, regulate the cordage of wood and declare whether it was of merchantable quality, appoint wood corders and fix their fees, regulate party walls, build and own a market, regulate the sale of horses and sweeping of chimneys, erect and mend a pump, appoint inspectors of liquor, flour, salted meat, lumber, weigh hay, lime, coal and grain and superintend the storage of gun-powder, lay and collect a fine on the harborers of dogs, erect a prison

⁴ Also: "The citizens in the first and second additions to the town shall have the right to build a market house in Broadway."

⁵ *Laws of Indiana, 1830*, ch. XXV.

and put men in it and let them out. This was by far the most pretensions charter issued up to that date and was to be accepted or rejected by popular vote. Later, if the people should forget or otherwise fail to hold an election on the appointed day the government of the city should not thereby cease.⁴

This charter is only a sample of the large number enacted by the General Assembly during the period from 1830 to 1850. Every town of note and many long since disappeared were provided with similar government. In general the government was vested in a single council consisting of from five to twenty members, presided over by an executive either chosen by the council or by popular election. The later the charter was issued, in general, the more of the city officers were chosen by popular vote. It was not considered legal for the council or town board to do anything for which specific power had not been granted by the Assembly. The courts construed these grants of power narrowly, so that, unless specifically clothed, the authority of the town government could not vacate an alley. The Michigan City charter of February 8, 1836, contained thirty-one specific grants of power including the right to prevent forestalling and regrating, to regulate the time and place of bathing, to prevent bringing dead carcasses into the town or rolling hoops on the streets, to compel persons to keep snow, ice or dirt off the sidewalks, to regulate the police and the quality of bread. The council might raise by taxation any sum not exceeding \$8,000 for lighting the streets. A city board of health composed of three citizens was provided for and the council might at its discretion appoint a "health physician" whose duty was to visit every sick person reported to the board of health

⁴ *Laws of Indiana, 1833, ch. LXIII.*

and notify the secretary of the board what the illness was. There is evidence in many of these charters of the dread of the pestilences of yellow fever and cholera which annually devastated many Indiana towns of this period. The city physician of Michigan City was required to examine every person on incoming ships before allowing them to land. The charters of Madison and Lawrenceburg, issued in 1838, established health boards to guard against epidemics of yellow fever and cholera brought by down river boats.

The towns of Lawrenceburg and Madison were constituted cities by the same act in 1838.¹ Little change was made in the form of government. Madison was given a council of eight members elected annually, and a mayor elected every three years. The grant of power is copied *verbatim* from the charter of Michigan City, so far as it would apply, with similar details and specifications.

Logansport also received a city charter that year, bearing date, February 17, 1838, granting a similar government with almost exactly the same grant of power. The officers, to be elected annually, were mayor, recorder, treasurer and five aldermen. Indianapolis received a charter this same year, February 17, 1838, but had to be content to remain a town along with Greensburg, Evansville, Paoli, Delphi, Martinsville, Rockport, Greensboro, Raysville, Princeton, Lebanon, Terre Haute, New Boston, Laporte, and New Washington. It will be remember that this Assembly adjourned before the panic of 1837 began in Indiana. However, Jeffersonville and New Albany were added to the list of cities by the Assembly of 1838. Fort Wayne and Richmond became cities

¹ *Laws of Indiana, 1837*, ch. 111. The date, 1837, used in the first and second sections of this law are evidently misprints.

in 1840. The former governed by a mayor and six aldermen, known collectively as the common council, the mayor being constituted a city judge with exclusive jurisdiction over all suits arising from violation of city ordinances; the latter by a mayor and two councilmen from each ward. Indianapolis received a city charter, January 26, 1847; Evansville, January 27. These were the last issued under the old constitution.

A glance through the charters will show that the chief functions of the city and town governments of the period were keeping order, that is police duties, and making streets. The best streets were macadamized, a few graveled, and by far the largest part mere dirt roads. In Indianapolis as late as 1850, excepting the National road—Washington street—there was no street on which heavy hauling could be done when the ground was wet. Madison had two good roads, one of which was the Michigan road and the other the Main street, parallel with the river. The board of health mentioned in several of the charters was an emergency board to guard against the epidemics and keep the most intolerable nuisances, such as tan yards, out of the residence part of the town. Very little was done, or could be done under the law, for the social betterment of the people. Then, as now, the insistent problem was the control of saloons with their attendant vices, gambling and prostitution. The General Assembly delegated its power sparingly. Taverns operated under special charters or state laws, saloons were governed by state laws with the power given occasionally to a town to regulate to a limited extent by local option vote. The general law of 1838 permitted town boards at their discretion to tax "tippling houses," that is houses in which liquor was sold by the drink, \$25 per year, but gave them no permission to refuse so to license them.

The general law of 1824 gave towns the right to determine by a two-thirds vote whether they should incorporate. Towns incorporating under this law were governed by a board of five trustees elected annually. The power of this board as interpreted by the courts was meager.* Little change was made in the *Revision* of 1831 except that trustees were chosen one from each ward instead of on a general ticket as formerly. The provisions of this general law were inadequate, as noted above, and almost all the towns in the state received special charters.

§ 175 COMMUNITIES

There were a number of attempts during the period preceding the Civil war to unite communities into a closer social organization. These were of two general classes; religious, following the general principles of the Rappites of Harmonie; and industrial, following the general lines laid down by the Owens at New Harmony.

January 13, 1845, a charter was issued to a body of citizens of Lagrange county under the corporate name of the Lagrange Phalanx. It was empowered to hold property "for the purpose of agriculture, trade, commerce, manufacture and education" and

* *Revised Laws of Indiana*, 1824, ch. CXI: "The president and board of trustees, or a majority of them, shall have full power from time to time, and at all times, to make, ordain, establish and execute, such by-laws and ordinances in writing, not inconsistent with the laws and constitution of this State, as they shall deem useful and necessary for the good government of said corporation; and to prevent and remove nuisances, to restrain and prohibit gambling, or other disorderly conduct, to provide for shows or amusements within the corporation, to regulate and establish markets, to sink and keep in repair public wells, to keep in repair all necessary streets, alleys and drains, and to pass regulations necessary for the same, agreeably to the plan of said town." p. 415, sec. 8.

"for exhibiting and carrying out the principles of associated communities according to the system taught by Charles Fourier." It was patterned after the Brook Farm community, no religious test being applied to the membership.⁹ It had a constitution of thirty articles and was composed of first rate men. There were over one hundred persons living under the same roof and eating at the same table. Their phalanx home was 210 feet long, twenty wide and two stories high. The dining room, forty by twenty-four, was in the center of the first story while immediately above, and of the same dimensions, was the school room for the children. A council of industry regulated the industrial affairs. All financial obligations were expressed in hours of labor of a certain kind. A standard day was ten hours, but ten hours of plowing equaled only eight of grubbing. A council of commerce regulated the buying and selling, a council of education had charge of that work, and so with other lines of activity. A council usually consisted of three members including the president of the Phalanx. Those who lived in this community have stated that the experiment worked with great satisfaction, especially was their school superior to others in the neighborhood. The act constituting the society was repealed, January 13, 1851, and three men were appointed to distribute the property among the members. That this was done without resort to the courts shows a high degree of honor and intelligence among the members.¹⁰

A highly organized religious community was organized, or founded, at West Union, Knox county (now Sullivan), about sixteen miles north of Vincennes, near the mouth of Basseron creek. There

⁹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1844, ch. LXI

¹⁰ *History of Lagrange County*, 1892, p. 68.

were said to be at least 200 members of this village." This settlement was made in 1805. The members came principally from Kentucky, receiving their inspiration from the Great Revival at Cane Ridge. They established a co-operative society, based on religious tenets, holding all their property in common, and forbidding marriage. When the War of 1812 broke out they returned to Ohio, returning to Knox county soon after its close. The colony owned 1300 acres on the beautiful Shaker prairie. The place was locally known as Shakertown. The first large community house was erected about 1820. It was 48 by 56 feet, built of brick, three stories high with a full basement. It contained 25 rooms besides three large halls. The men and women lived apart, each with their own separate kitchen and dining room. The following year, 1821, they erected a temple for worship 40 by 44 feet. The community engaged in farming, manufacturing cutlery, brooms, and baskets and operated a distillery and grist mill on Busseron creek. Their extra produce was shipped by flatboats to New Orleans. The Methodist circuit riders made truceless war on the sect and finally drove it out. The last building, the temple, was destroyed in 1882.¹¹

§ 176 RISE OF THE CITIES

The General Assembly of 1852 passed a general

¹¹ Calvin Green and Seth Wells, *The Millennial Church*, 1823, p. 75. "Shakertown, the residence of the Shakers, consists of eight or ten houses of hewn logs. The number of inhabitants is estimated at 200, who live in four families. In the dealings they are esteemed as very honest and exemplary. The mills are a great accommodation to this part of the country, and to this they have added carding machines. Indigo and cotton to the extent of a few acres are cultivated. Neat cattle are numerous. Their flock of sheep consists of some hundreds." See, also, Philip Mason, *Autobiography*, p. 108.

¹² *Indianapolis Star*, Dec. 2, 1916; David Thomas, *Travels Through the Western Country in 1818*, p. 147, seq.

law for the incorporation of cities and one for the incorporation of towns. Towns having a population of 3,000 or more were permitted on their own petition to incorporate as cities. Cities were to be divided into wards, not less than five in number, from each of which were to be elected two councilmen, who, together with the mayor, constituted the common council, or governing body, of the city. The other officers were a clerk, assessor, treasurer, civil engineer, street commissioner and marshall, all elected annually. The grant of power to the common council was specific but wide, perhaps a hundred duties being specified. As evidence of progress, cities were permitted to go beyond their boundaries to find sources of pure water and establish municipal water plants. Cities previously incorporated might, if desired, surrender their old charter, by vote of the council, and reincorporate under the new law.¹³ A like general law was enacted for the incorporation and government of towns.¹⁴ The town government consisted of from five to seven trustees, one from each district, a clerk, assessor, treasurer and marshall, all elected annually.

From the time the new constitution went into effect until 1905 there was no fixed form of town or city government. In 1857, in 1867, in 1877, in 1881, in 1895, in 1899, in 1901, in 1903 and finally in 1905 the fundamental law for the incorporation of towns and cities was rewritten. Some of the later statutes applied to a certain class of cities only, but the classification, based on the census returns, was a mere convention.

The constitution of 1852 required that the incorporation laws be general. In the seventies this restriction was evaded by those cities and towns whose charter had been issued before 1851, whose old char-

¹³ *Revised Statutes, Indiana, 1852*, ch. XVII.

¹⁴ *Revised Statutes, Indiana, 1852*, ch. CVIII.

ters were freely amended, presumably in response to some demand from the city itself."

In the late seventies another plan was used by the General Assembly to avoid the constitutional requirement that all laws be general. March 5, 1877, a bill was signed by the governor, applying to cities having "attained a voting population of 15,000 or more as shown by the poll books of any general city or state election." This applied to Indianapolis alone. This law, designated as a supplement to that of March 14, 1867, was essentially a special charter for one city. It provided for a city government composed of a common council and a board of aldermen. Each councilor was to represent a ward containing not less than 600 voters nor more than 1,000, two aldermen each to represent one of the five districts into which the city was to be divided. This was an attempt to make the city government honest, by making it more difficult for the officers to be dishonest.¹⁶

¹⁶ See *Laws of Indiana*, 1873, ch. XI.V, for Evansville or ch. LVII for the town of Huntington. There were eight charters so amended in 1873.

¹⁷ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 6, 1877. "By reducing the size of the wards, it will diminish the opportunities for fraud in elections. As no ward can contain more than 1,000 voters, the opportunities for fraud will be materially reduced and any excess over the legal limitation of voters would be *prima facie* evidence of fraud. * * * The result of this arrangement will undoubtedly be to secure greater care and deliberation in legislation than the city has heretofore enjoyed, greater difficulty in the passage of unnecessary, extravagant or corrupt measures, and in general to secure a better class of legislation. It will also operate against the jobbing and log-rolling methods by which so many measures are now passed, in which councilmen swap votes to secure the passage of pet schemes for particular wards. As each aldermanic district will be composed of three or more wards, the aldermen can afford to take a larger view of questions and to act more strictly for the general welfare than councilmen are in the habit of doing." p. 4.

This miniature congress in joint session was given power to elect all other city officers. Four years later the law was re-enacted in order to extend the terms of office of the councilmen to 1884 and make their term two years instead of one thereafter, likewise the terms of the aldermen were extended to 1884 and made three years thereafter "

A law of February 21, 1885, changed the charter of Indianapolis, referring to it as "all cities containing a population of over 70,000." The Metropolitan police law of March 7, 1889, was drawn to apply to "all cities of 29,000 or more inhabitants." The law of March 11, 1889, conferring power to found libraries, applied to cities with 30,000 inhabitants. The Metropolitan police law of March 4, 1891, applied to cities of 29,000 or more. An elaborate, new charter for Indianapolis, March 6, 1891, applied to cities with a population of over 100,000. A law of March 10, 1891, gave to all cities between 50,000 and 100,000 population boards of public works. February 22, 1893, a charter was enacted for Indianapolis alone referring to it as "all cities over 100,000." March 3, of the same year, a special charter for Evansville referred to it as "all cities having more than 50,000 and less than 100,000." March 3, 1899, a general incorporation law was made to apply to all cities of more than 23,000 population and less than 35,000. The Metropolitan police law of February 23, 1901, applied to all cities whose population was between 10,000 and 35,000. This awkward and sometimes vicious practice was used more and more frequently until 1905, at times honestly, at times as a subterfuge to hide partisan politics.

¹⁷ *Laws of Indiana*, 1881. ch. X. This is an early example of the vicious practice of extending terms of office for partisan advantage.

In the field of city government the most difficult problem for the General Assembly has been the amount of power, independent of the statutes, the city should possess. As noted above, under the old constitution the General Assembly was virtually the common council for every town. As a result the member or members representing the district in which the town was situated became, for the time, the arbiter of the town government. One by one powers and duties were delegated to individual cities by name until in the aggregate a considerable field for city legislation had been determined. This aggregate of powers, still superficially enumerated, was extended under the new constitution to all cities and towns alike. As a result, under the laws of 1852 and 1857, cities of 3,000 were saddled with the same elaborate government as Indianapolis. How the General Assembly tried to avoid this has been shown.

But as cities grew and inventions multiplied, city society became more complex and demanded more political powers. June 1, 1861, all incorporated towns and cities were authorized to construct and use city prisons. March 6, 1865, cities and towns were permitted to grant free use of their streets and alleys to railroads. April 24, 1869, they were empowered to establish and own "wharves, docks, piers and basins." March 9, 1875, they were further permitted to borrow money and employ the laborers. March 9, 1875, they were given power "to secure the removal of slops, garbage, the carcasses of dead animals and other waste materials from their corporate limits." March 17, 1875, a long statute dealt with the whole subject of street improvement in cities, giving the city full power over the subject. March 2, 1877, Indianapolis was given the right to make a donation of \$500,000 to the Union Railroad Transfer and Stock Yards company. March 25, 1879, cities and towns

were authorized to issue and sell bonds for the purpose of constructing, maintaining and operating city water companies. March 3, 1883, they were given power to contract with electric lighting companies to light the streets and houses. March 5, 1891, they were authorized to buy real estate, "locate, lay out or improve public parks and grounds." March 6, 1891, the power to construct sewer systems was granted. March 9, 1891, all cities having paid fire departments were authorized to create a firemen's pension fund. March 10, 1891, cities between 50,000 and 100,000 population were authorized to elect a board of public works. March 9, 1895, the General Assembly organized all these separate grants into a single statute of fifty-one sections, each setting out a specific power or duty of the common council.

The experience of the preceding century in city government was used in constructing the Municipal Corporations law of March 6, 1905, which with minor modifications is still in force.

Experience had shown conclusively that cities varying in size from 3,000 population to a quarter of a million could not be governed economically under one general law or charter. Commission governments, city home rule, and various other forms were advocated but most of these solutions were barred by the state constitution. The General Assembly was compelled to fall back on the old method of making arbitrary divisions on the basis of population. For this reason the cities of the state were divided on the basis of population into five classes: First, those of 100,000 population or above; second, those between 45,000 and 100,000; third, those between 20,000 and 45,000; fourth, those between 10,000 and 20,000; fifth, those below 10,000.¹²

¹² The following table will be useful in studying this question:

The officers of a town were to be from three to seven trustees (one from each ward), elected on a general ticket, a clerk and a treasurer. The marshal is appointed by the board and generally acts as street commissioner. The powers of the board, specified in twenty-one paragraphs, cover a wide field. The judicial officers of the towns are the ordinary township justices of the peace.

Towns may organize as cities upon a favorable vote of two-thirds of the voters at a public election held for that purpose. The legislative authority of all cities is vested in the common council with powers specified in fifty-three paragraphs. The council is composed of one representative from each of the

CITIES	POPULATION						
	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Alexandria ..	..	....	287	488	715	7,221	8,000
Anderson	383	2,587	3,126	4,128	10,741	20,178	22,470
Bedford ..	002	.	....	2,108	3,351	6,115	8,716
Bloomington .	1,306	2,419	1,032	2,750	4,018	6,400	8,838
Brazil .....	..	..	2,180	3,441	5,005	7,788	9,340
Columbus ...	1,008	1,840	3,359	4,813	6,719	8,130	8,813
Connersville .	1,308	2,119	2,406	3,228	4,548	6,836	7,758
Crawfordsville .	1,513	1,922	3,701	5,251	8,090	9,640	9,371
E. Chicago ....	.	....	....	....	1,255	3,411	19,008
Elkhart ..	1,035	1,439	3,275	6,053	11,300	15,194	19,282
Elwood ..	.	....	310	751	2,284	12,050	11,029
Evansville	3,235	11,484	21,630	29,290	50,756	59,007	60,847
Fort Wayne..	4,282	10,388	17,718	26,890	35,308	45,115	63,933
Frankfort	582	773	1,300	2,603	5,919	7,100	8,634
*Gary .....	..	..	..	....	..	.	16,802
Goshen	780	2,053	4,123	3,193	6,038	7,810	8,514
Greensburg .....	....	..	3,138	3,596	5,034	5,420	
Hammond ...	....	.	....	....	5,428	12,376	20,925
Hartford City .	250	618	878	1,470	2,297	5,912	6,187
Huntington ...	594	1,034	....	....	7,328	9,491	10,272
Indianapolis .	8,001	18,611	48,244	75,066	105,490	169,164	233,050
Jeffersonville ...	2,123	4,020	7,254	9,357	10,666	10,774	10,412
Kokomo .....	..	1,040	2,177	4,042	8,261	10,809	17,010

*Incorporated 1906.

three or more wards and half as many councilmen at large (not counting fractions) as there are from the wards, provided that of the latter there be not more than six nor less than two. Besides the councilmen there are a mayor, city judge, clerk, and treasurer elected by a voters for a term of four years. The executive department is divided into finance, law, public works, public safety, assessment and collection, and health and charities. The first two departments are under the controller and corporation counsel respectively, appointed by the mayor. Public works, public safety, and health and charities are administered by boards of three each, appointed by the mayor. The department of assessment and collection is under the supervision of the city treasurer. The city judiciary consists of a city court which in

CITIES	POPULATION						
	1650	1850	1870	1890	1900	1910	1910
Lafayette	6,129	9,297	13,506	14,900	16,243	18,116	20,081
Laporte	1,824	5,028	6,581	6,196	7,126	7,113	10,525
Logansport	3,500	2,979	6,050	11,198	12,328	16,204	19,060
Madison	8,012	8,130	10,709	8,045	8,936	7,835	6,934
Marion	703		1,638	3,182	8,769	17,837	19,359
Michigan City...	908	2,320	2,985	7,366	10,776	14,550	19,027
Michawanka ...	1,412	1,488	2,617	2,640	2,371	5,560	11,896
Mt. Vernon	1,120	1,904	2,890	3,730	4,705	5,132	5,568
Munster ...	666	1,782	2,902	5,219	11,345	20,942	24,006
New Albany ...	9,805	12,647	16,396	16,423	21,059	20,629	20,829
Perrin	1,266	2,506	2,617	5,290	7,028	8,463	10,910
Princeton	806	1,397	1,847	2,506	3,078	6,041	6,448
Richmond	1,443	6,003	9,445	12,742	16,006	18,226	22,324
Seymour	966		2,372	4,250	5,387	6,446	6,306
Shelbyville ...	906	1,900	2,731	3,745	5,451	7,169	9,500
South Bend...	1,652	3,632	7,206	13,280	21,619	33,990	53,684
Terre Haute	4,051	8,594	16,103	26,042	30,217	36,678	58,157
Valparaiso	522	1,698	2,765	4,461	5,090	6,280	6,967
Vincennes	2,070	3,960	5,440	7,680	8,853	10,249	14,895
Wabash	968	1,520	....	....	5,105	8,618	6,897
Washington		3,183	2,901	4,323	6,064	8,551	7,854

cities of the fifth class is presided over by the mayor." There is considerable dissatisfaction with the present law but not enough, it seems, to cause any radical change under the present constitution. The source of the dissatisfaction lies in the lax enforcement of the laws, and in the administration of city finances. This discontent has been increased by the recent disclosures of corruption in Terre Haute, Indianapolis, Muncie, Evansville and elsewhere. Vicious politics is always found associated with the corrupt government.²⁰

§ 177 DEVELOPMENT

The cities and towns of Indiana before the Civil war were little more than thickly populated neighborhoods. Nearly all the houses were one or two story, frame or brick. The largest city contained 16,611 and only three others contained over 10,000 population each. The inhabitants found occupation in the few factories and stores and on neighboring farms. The streets then and for twenty years after were county roads worked by the road hands. There might have been a few miles of macadamized pike in Madison, New Albany and Indianapolis, but most of this had been built as a part of the Michigan road, National road, or Vincennes turnpike.²¹ There were

²⁰ *Laws of Indiana*, 1906, ch. CXXIX.

²¹ "It is probably safe to say that there is not conducted in this state a city election without some sort of fraud, the buying of votes, the introduction of floaters or repeaters, or the falsification of the returns in some manner or other. Witness the facts established in 1915, relative to Terre Haute, Indianapolis, Muncie and Evansville. The situation is not peculiar to Indiana, but is a national evil."—Streightoff, *Indiana*, 129. This is, of course, an exaggeration, but there is room for improvement.

²² *The Indiana Gazetteer of 1840*, under the description of New Albany, says its streets were macadamized and sidewalks paved. No mention is made of any other street improvements.

no pavements. Indianapolis put down its first pavements, of pine blocks, in 1870. Some of the business streets were laid with boulders, but it took some imagination and more city pride to call such improvements pavement. It was not till 1888 that Indianapolis had a "vulcanite" paved street.²² These experiments revealed the fact that paving streets was a business which needed expert supervision. As a result of these early failures the General Assembly later put this work under control of a city board.

Slowly the muddy lanes of the cities gave way to paved streets. The big, four-horse freight wagons disappeared. The rows of horses that formerly stood at the edge of the streets in front of the stores were accommodated in the livery-barns; the slop puddles in the side ditches were removed by the sewers; the hitch racks which in all county seats encircled the courthouse squares in the forties and fifties were declared nuisances in the eighties and nineties; lawns and shade trees appeared; but just as it seemed that beautiful streets were in process of realization the telegraph, telephone, gas, light, and water companies asked and received permission to use them. Since then the race has been fairly even between the cities building streets and the utility companies tearing them up.

The cities remained dirty until the end of the century. During the two decades from 1890 to 1910 great progress was made from a sanitary standpoint in the improvement of streets and alleys, but with the approaching solution of this question there appeared one of equal difficulty arising from the use of soft coal in the factories. Dense clouds of black

²² Dunn, *History of Indianapolis*, I, 309. For a most interesting account of the growth of Indianapolis, see Meredith Nicholson, *The Provincial American*, 57, seq. Reed, also, Booth Tarkington's *The Turmoil*.

smoke hovered over the manufacturing centers and a ceaseless sprinkle of soot falls, usually covering all parts of the cities as the wind shifts from one quarter to another. The assistance of the General Assembly has been invoked but no great relief obtained.

The commercial development of the cities dates principally from the period of the Civil war. The growth was augmented very largely by the building of the railroads. Previous to 1850 the business centers were on the rivers or the Wabash and Erie canal. New Albany, Indianapolis, Madison, Lafayette, Fort Wayne, Terre Haute, Logansport, Evansville, Jeffersonville and Vincennes, the ten largest, ranging in size from 9,395 to 2,070 and ranking in the order given, were, with the exception of the capital, all on the Ohio river or on the Wabash and Erie canal. The business of these cities and towns was that of distribution and thus depended for its success on superior facilities of transportation.

In 1832 it was stated that Madison, then the most important town in the state, had in March and April alone imported not less than \$120,000 worth of merchandise. One merchant "imported" from the "low country" (New Orleans) 200 bags of coffee, 100 hogsheads of sugar, and 50 hogsheads of molasses. New Albany at the same time was credited with a printing office, sixteen dry goods stores, nine groceries, a ship chandlery store, two drug stores, a hardware store, twenty saloons, an ashery, a rope walk, three ship yards, two boat yards, two iron foundries, a brass foundry, a steam engine factory, a finishing shop, and a merchant flouring mill of one hundred barrels capacity.²² These were the leading business centers of that time, the one in commerce, the other in manufacturing.

²² *Indiana Gazetteer*, 1832.

In 1850 pork and flour were the leading products of the state. The pork business centered in Madison and the flour business in the towns and cities of the north part of the state." New Albany was still the leading manufacturing center with Madison and Indianapolis struggling for leadership in distribution. Indianapolis had seventy-six dry goods stores, twenty-four groceries, fourteen wholesale houses, one hundred and six shops for mechanics, four breweries, and seven hotels, the latter more properly called boarding houses. Madison was then building, at a cost of \$30,000, the first hotel established in the state.

Lafayette had twenty-seven dry goods stores and twelve wholesale establishments. Fort Wayne, Logansport, Terre Haute, and South Bend were also engaged almost exclusively in the distribution business, wholesale and retail.

The cities mentioned in the list above held their places, though changing their ranks frequently, until the rise of the manufacturing towns in the last decade of the old century and the first of the new. Of the cities of the latter class, Terre Haute, Brazil, Clinton, Linton and a few others took advantage of the opening of the coal mines; Muncie, Anderson, Alexandria, Kokomo, Elwood and others are the gas belt towns; Bedford and Bloomington have profited by the opening of the Oolitic stone quarries; Indianapolis, Evansville, Fort Wayne, South Bend and Gary enjoy the combined advantages of location, good transportation facilities and a cheap food supply. Economic conditions must be considered in accounting for the growth of cities but there is also a personal element in many cases accounting for a

²⁴ *Indiana Gazetteer*, 1850, p. 30. New Albany had the largest Merchant Flour mill.

large part of their growth and enterprise. One readily associates the DePauws with New Albany, Lanier with Madison, McCullough, Hanna, Hamilton and Bass with Fort Wayne, the Studebakers and Olivers with South Bend, the United States Steel Corporation with Gary, Haynes with Kokomo and the Heilmans with Evansville. These men are or were only leaders. Fame, no doubt, has not always been just in pointing out city builders but the fact certainly is true that a city owes more to the character of its citizens than to its economic circumstances.²⁶

Indiana cities contain few architectural features. The great majority of the buildings are only buildings and nothing more. Cheapness and utility are too apparent, but a turning point seems to have been reached. The old-fashioned red brick dwelling at least has been discarded; the equally old-fashioned Dutch county courthouse has given way to a simpler style with here and there traces of sculptural decoration. However, it is doubtful if there is another courthouse in the state more attractive architecturally than that at Paoli, which dates from the first half

²⁶ Streightoff, *Indiana*, 127. "In every city, and more particularly in the larger ones, the offices are valuable, not for the salaries, which ordinarily are small, nor for social prestige, as scant recognition is given the politicians by cultured circles, but for power. Although its power has been lessened by the creation of the Public Service Commission (in 1913), it is possible for a city government to poster a public utility almost without limit or to grant it favors of tremendous value; it is possible to make life miserable for some manufacturers or to allow them with impunity to violate conservative regulations; it is possible to enforce the laws against the maintaining of houses of ill-fame and the gambling dens or to ignore their existence; it is possible to make contracts deviously favorable to the city and to enforce their terms or to enter agreements that give individuals immense profits for shabby work that will need extensive repairs within a few years, and so afford additional private gains at public expense."

of the last century. Among the cities of the second and third class the high school buildings are most noticeable. In the same class are the new libraries and postoffice buildings, most of which approach the simple classic style. Most of the churches now in use were built fifteen or twenty years ago and have few attractive features so far as the buildings themselves are concerned. A few, built recently, have followed the old English cathedrals as models.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE COLLEGES

§ 178 EARLY ATTENDANCE

The founding of the pioneer colleges of Indiana has been sketched briefly in a former volume. Not much space was given them because they seem to have occupied very little space in the minds of the pioneers. The graduating class of 1857 in the state university numbered fifteen. No graduating class exceeded this in number until 1874. The total number of graduates in the first thirty-one classes, from 1830 to 1860, inclusive, was 205, an average of less than seven. The roll of students was not as long as the curriculum. Even after the Civil war attendance was small. The report of 1866 shows a total enrollment of 233. The whole alumni up to that time was 253 in the literary department and 177 in the law. There were seven members of the faculty.

The attendance at Notre Dame for 1866 was 400. The alumni numbered forty-five and there were twenty-five members of the faculty. Butler college had 210 students, an alumni numbering fifty-six and a faculty of five. Earlham college had an enrollment of 178, an alumni of twenty-three and a faculty of eleven. Union Christian college at Merom had 115 students and four alumni. Earlham in 1869 had thirty-nine alumni. Wabash in 1868 had an alumni of 105, with an enrollment in the college of 66. Asbury in 1870 had an enrollment of 344 and a total alumni of 423. Of these fifty were in the ministry, thirty were teaching in colleges, 59 were physicians,

129 were lawyers, 121 were farmers and tradesmen. Franklin college had ninety students, twenty of whom were in college classes. Moore's Hill reported seventy-seven doing college work in 1870. Hartsville university had an enrollment of 215, where, though not specified, about one-half of the students were in the preparatory departments.

Enough statistics have been given to show that down to 1870 the colleges were not largely attended. There were enough colleges but students were not forthcoming. Evidently the people were not patronizing them. In 1840, or at any time previous to 1850, poverty might have been pleaded as an excuse, but during the fifties and after the Civil war there was abundance of means. Yet one does not have to seek far for the causes for the neglect of the colleges.'

§ 179 SECTARIANISM

One of the chief difficulties must be sought in the religious character of public opinion. Even here there were two more or less contradictory beliefs. In the first place nearly all professors, college presidents, and ministers were united in the belief that teaching Christian morals was the chief concern of colleges.* By this time most of the Protestant churches were content to entrust primary and even high schools to non-sectarian teachers, but when it came to colleges the strictest care should be observed that teachers were orthodox. It was felt that young

* *Indiana School Journal*, 1878, p. 60 "There is not a college or university west of the Allegheny mountains that would have much to boast of in a comparison with the Phillips Academy in New England, the New York Free Academy, or the Philadelphia High School."

* Charles White, *Essays in Literature and Ethics*, 8 "The design of the few suggestions which I shall make now will be to establish and commend this proposition—That Religion is an Essential Part of All Education."

men introduced for the first time to the science and literature of the world were in imminent danger of losing their way religiously.³ The college presidents insisted on absolute independence of mind, but when analyzed it always turned out to be the independence which frankly accepted the dogma of some church. Love of truth was a prime requisite of the scholar, but it must be Christian truth. The last of the labors of men of independent minds was the encouragement and diffusion of religion in the community.⁴ The western colleges were intended to be, as their eastern predecessors had been, hand maidens of the church. They were capable, and it was their duty to support and invigorate the church, to build up a superior christian civilization. Christianity was the spice with which every lesson was to be flavored, the solvent in which each was administered.⁵

Intellectual power, to be a blessing, must be combined with morality, that is, with Christianity. The Piercean stream should mingle its waters with the fount of Siloa; the flowers of Parnassus should lead to the grapes and olives of Zion. The one chief text

³ Barnabes C. Hobbs in *Indiana School Journal*, 1856, p. 118: "Religious education is of the greatest possible value. It lies at the foundation of good society, good laws, and good government. A sound morality should be at the core of all learning. The beauty and potency of Truth—honest, unsophisticated Truth—a religious sense of right and duty, should be forever held up before the mind of every student."

⁴ Charles White, *Essays in Literature and Ethics*, 60. Dr. White was president of Wabash. "Being regarded so generally as the grand indispensable conservative, nothing remains for me but to point to the encouragement and diffusion of religious faith, the element of so much of our blessedness as the high service and privilege of all our citizens of independent minds. Frankly, firmly, everywhere, such men will appear as the friends and supporters of truth and religion, fearless of sneers, of the charge of bigotry, of the loss of patronage, of office, of honor."

⁵ *Ibid.*, 204, 205.

book was the Bible. All other texts, all other literature was subsidiary.*

Even so late as July 11, 1860, when he was inducted into the presidency of Indiana university, John H. Lathrop could say that all literary and educational institutions, if they are to be safe, must house under the wings of the church. Education had always been the proper work of the priesthood and it was necessary that it be restored to them again. The pulpit was the natural ally of the college.¹ It was no more customary to have a layman preside over a college than over a church. "I make these several points, in illustration of the true rule of the university appointments. The doctrine is, that the priest in the temple of science should have been early dedicated to the service of the altar," said the president, in announcing his policy. Each departure has-arded the gains of civilization. Dr. Lathrop was a graduate of Yale, saturated with the scholasticism of that section. He was the only layman, if he might be called one, who presided over the university until the coming of Dr. David Starr Jordan, January 1, 1885. A most curious illustration of the relation of spiritual and natural laws is given by Dr. Cyrus Nutt, who succeeded Lathrop at Indiana in 1860, when he urged that prayer would arrest the laws of nature.²

* W. M. Dally, *Inaugural Address*, Indiana University, 1854, p. 17.

¹ *Inaugural Address*, 53: "If Moses' seat, in our literary synagogues, is to be occupied, not by those who enter in at the door, but by those who climb up some other way, if it be so, that the priest in the temple of science must be chosen from among those who are strangers to its mysteries, let us go back again to the clerical profession: for it is manifestly and distinctly true that the ministrations and the discipline of the pulpit are far more germane to the processes of education than are those of the bar."

² Cyrus Nutt, *Prayer Gongs*, 14.

This insistence of clerical control of the schools was not entirely to the liking of the western people. Many of them were prejudiced against an institution which had driven their ancestors from their homes. All of them were firm believers in the complete separation of church and state. For the most part they believed in public education. Here then would be a renewal of the old conflict which they had once won. The ecclesiastical enemy driven out the back door was trying to return by the rear. It is sufficient to state that attendance at the colleges never greatly improved until the advent of the normals broke the ecclesiastical grip. It was common observation that colleges were a failure.*

* Charles Barnes, *Indiana School Journal*, I, 80: "That there are reforms needed in our American colleges, none will deny. That they have heretofore failed to meet the wants of both the practical man and the scholar is equally plain." Mr. Barnes, 1866, was superintendent at New Albany, and president of the State Teachers' Association, editor of the *Journal*, and candidate for state superintendent on the Republican ticket. See, also, E. P. Cole, *School Journal*, II, 325. "It were bootless, now, to inquire into the motives inducing the establishment of so many institutions—certainly more than are needed. But to us it is a matter of regret that the energy and influence which created these six had not all centered upon the State University, and the money employed in building up the remaining five been otherwise directed into the great channels of Christian benevolence. We will not say that better men could have been employed to fill the chairs of instruction. This would be unjust. But we can say that one institution, upon which all the energies of the state were centered, would necessarily have been better supplied with the appliances for aid and illustration in teaching, and the student going forth from her walls better trained. These, perhaps, are fruitless speculations, and certainly will not be sympathized in by all."

Boone, *Education in Indiana*, 406: "The relation of the church, as an educational agent, to the state and the family, other similar agents, was, in the earlier years, far more than now, a fruitful source of divided control in education, the occasion of weakening schools, dependent control, apologetic teaching, and

This general ecclesiastical quality in colleges, which all avowed, was not the most troublesome. While all college men stood for an orthodox Christian basis for a college, each implied that his own church was the orthodox society that should control. At this date one cannot appreciate the asperity which existed between the denominations. There was not enough charity in one faction or denomination to concede that members of another might be saved. With this feeling prevalent one can account for the number of unendowed colleges added from time to time to the already impoverished list.* The war among the creeds was usually more acrid and personal than that against unbelievers.

In accounting for the opinions of the college men themselves one must consider their collegiate training, which in most cases had been theological or had been received in the east, where little distinction was made between the college chair and the church pulpit. The travellers from the east in Indiana long after the Civil war remarked on the uncultured appearance of Indianians. When O. H. Smith admitted to some men at the Mansion House hotel in Cincinnati in 1836 that he had been elected United States senator they laughed at him. The city could not have produced a half dozen men his equal, but he looked, no doubt, as if he needed a missionary. It is not far wrong to say that the college men of Indiana

pretentious plans. It has given Indiana almost a score of colleges, or would-be colleges, all of whose students could at any time have been as well taught by one-half of their combined faculties, and whose aggregate endowment prior to 1870 yielded less than \$100,000 annual income."

* In 1868 Indiana had 12 seniors, Northwestern 6, Asbury 11, Wabash 2, Indiana Female 20, Union Christian 2, Hartsville less than a dozen, Valparaiso Female about 10.—*Indiana School Journal*, 1868, pp. 364, 369.

before the Civil war thought the native Indianians needed salvation far more than education.

Then at this time, 1850 to 1875, there was a battle raging throughout the west that threatened, as church-men believed, the very foundation of religion itself. The Universalists were waging the fight with vigor and success. Every day its victims were dropping from the class roll and even the pulpit. Protestant ministers threw themselves into the fight with fury. In other interdenominational struggles there were a few neutrals but not in this. Every one was against the Universalist. Also a spirit of agnosticism was springing up in the west, a revival of eighteenth century rationalism. The fact that it was most affected by young men in or recently returned from college made it necessary to look very narrowly for the opening by which it entered. When the natural sciences with their theory of evolution found a place in the curriculum, it was soon decided that by that gate heresy had entered in. Since few scientists were ministers it was necessary to have a president of the college who could smother what heresy appeared, either gently or forcibly as the case demanded.

It was urged against the state university that it could not teach religion and therefore should not teach at all. If by religion is meant sectarianism, it was answered, then the charge is true, but if by religion is meant the fundamental doctrines and morals of Christianity, it not only can but does teach it.¹¹

§ 180 CLASSICAL EDUCATION

Religion, however, was not the only difficulty. The college, the professor and college learning, all in all and as a whole was a great joke to most Indian-

¹¹ President Cyrus Nutt, *Indiana School Journal*, 1869, p. 12.

ians before 1880. A professor, if honest and able, was an object of pity, because he had not undertaken some public service where his efforts would have been appreciated. He was generally condemned for wasting in useless pursuits endowments that might have been put to a profitable use. If a professor were dishonest he was drummed out of the community just like an immoral preacher. Lapses that would not have excited neighborhood gossip in a layman were magnified into state scandal if done by a professor.

This general quality the professor absorbed from his work. In the pursuit of antiquated and useless knowledge, it was assumed, they had become antiquated and useless themselves. In New England the preacher and teacher, being one and inseparable, dressed alike. So in the west the professor wore a clerical suit.

Not only his clothes but his curriculum came from the ecclesiastical schools of New England or Princeton. The course of study was built around Christian ethics. The curriculum was so constructed as to lead to what was called a liberal education. The undergraduate course was to be strictly disciplinary. It must rest on the classics and mathematics, the two pillars of the great edifice of human learning. These were the only pillars it could stand upon and if any Sampson ever overthrew one of these he would wreck civilization.¹² No trace of what the pioneers would have called the practical was found in the curriculum. There was demand everywhere for surveyors yet up to the middle of the nineteenth century only the theory of the subject was taught. One cannot be serious even yet thinking of a half score of brawny youths with huge bare feet and one suspender each, crooning over Greek paradigms while all the people of the state, beside, fought the equal bat-

¹² *Inauguration Speech*, W. M. Dally, 1854, p. 19.

tle with the primeval forest, swamps, and wild varmints. The freshmen course at Indiana for 1831 consisted of "Greek Testament, Minora, Majora, 1st Vol., 2nd Vol., commenced, compositions in English and Latin, Greek Thesis." There were doubtless a richness of expression and a flood of enthusiasm thrown into those Greek theses. It will be noticed that during the whole year these freshmen studied nothing but Greek.

It does not seem necessary to carry this statement further to show the utter disparity between this old Trivium and Quadrivium course of study and pioneer Indiana.

The settlers of New England doubtless were more or less inoculated with the traditions of medievalism but the settlers of the Ohio valley were not affected. This system of education was imported ready made and it has remained an open question to the present whether or not it was a misfit. The fact remains that as long as the colleges of Indiana offered only a "liberal education" they were not crowded.¹⁰

§ 181 SOCIETY AND POLITICS

Still another obstacle in the way of the early colleges was the heterogeneous character of the state citizenship.¹¹ College education, even now, is sought in most cases for its general culture. As such it rests very largely on tradition or public opinion. It was

¹⁰ The best discussion of the college curriculum available is by Samuel R. Harding, *Indiana University*, 24, seq.

¹¹ Charles White, "Western Colleges," in *Essays*, 209. "The elements to be constructed into a social organization here are extremely diverse and heterogeneous. This country is settled by emigrants from every state in our Union, commingled with Englishmen, Frenchmen, Swiss, Poles, Danes, Norwegians, Russians, Swedes, Germans, Welsh, Irish, Scotch, Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, Africans, Asiatics. The population is still more divided

not then, for instance, a common belief that a blacksmith would be a more useful citizen, and ultimately a better blacksmith, for having a college education. In fact there was great admiration then for the plain, self-made man who had only a common school education or less; men like Jackson, Harrison, Taylor or Lincoln. College men were not preferred on account of their training. In the constitutional convention of 1850 were only a few graduates and they were not leaders on that account. When Governor Wright handed the keys of Indiana university to President William M. Daily, August 2, 1854, he demanded in the name of the state an institution that would educate the sons of Indiana to be "farmers, architects, artisans, engineers, mechanics, botanists, geologists, in a word useful men." He urged that a model farm be added to the equipment. What he heard from President Daily was a sermon on the duty of the state to give each of its sons a liberal education, that is, an acquaintance with the classics, with the beauties of antiquity. There is no attempt made here to settle this question, much less even to imply that a college should fashion its curriculum to agree with public opinion, but merely to point out that the head of the state and the head of the state university were about 1,000 years apart. It should be kept in mind, however, that the people were with the governor.

Even in the field of utilitarian education there was no agreement. It has already been noted how Governor Wright spoke in the name of the people for

in matters of religion. There are here Congregationalists, Old School and New School Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed, German Reformed, Seceders, Covenanters, Campbellites, Methodists, Wesleyans, Dissenters, Old and New School Baptists, Two Seed Baptists, Seventh Day Adventists, Unitarians, Lutherans, Moravians, Quakers, Episcopallians, Dunkers, Universalists, Infidels, Mormons, Millerites, Millenarians, New Lights."

trade schools. President White, of Wabash, an unbending classicist, thought the western colleges ought to turn out a pious ministry, to furnish young men of sound scholarship to take charge of the schools of the state, to introduce and maintain sound scholarship.¹³

Caleb Mills, a professor in Wabash, took up or perhaps originated, the idea of his president that the chief duty of colleges was to train men for teaching. He would have abolished the state university, partly because of its non-sectarianism, and partly to prevent the waste of funds. Four different times in his public addresses he recurred to his plan for a state university. He would have had the state Assembly create a corporation to be styled the "Regents of the University of Indiana." This board was to take the \$30,000 worth of buildings at Bloomington, sell them to some denominational school, put the money with the endowment fund and annually distribute the income to those colleges which would maintain a normal department. These colleges would be handier, since there would be one in each section of the state; they would be much better supervised, because each denomination would carefully watch over its schools with a pride in keeping it equal to or better than the others. While this scheme would greatly improve the colleges themselves, its principal advantage would be in furnishing competent instructors for the common schools and seminaries. Four times Professor Mills outlined in detail his favorite plan, the plan then used in New York state.¹⁴ The crying

¹³ Charles White, *Essays*, 224. "These three services for the west, the creation of eminent scholarship, the improvement and extension of primary education, the establishment of a superior and Christian civilization, constitute the grand design and effort of western colleges."

¹⁴ *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, 111, 423, 471, 522,

need of the state was public school teachers. "What," he continued, "has the state to show for at least the \$60,000 it has actually paid during the last eighteen years? How many teachers of common schools, how many principals, has the state college furnished?"

From what has been said it might be inferred that the work of the colleges through this long period had been in vain. Such was not the case entirely, though judged by the University of Michigan which in the late sixties enrolled 1,200 students, they were not very successful. They sent a few, about one hundred, well-trained men into the state each year. As the institutions grew older their alumni became more of a factor in society, college traditions took root and colleges entered on a period of comparative prosperity.¹⁷

The period under discussion, from 1840 to 1875, corresponds roughly to the time when individualism

571: "The University should consist of such colleges as will adopt a course of study satisfactory to the Regents, furnish an annual report of their receipts and expenditures, the number of their faculty and students, actual amount of study accomplished by each class, the course of study required for admission and graduation, the number of volumes in the college and societies' libraries, the value of their apparatus and cabinets, permit a committee of the Regents to attend and assist in conducting the annual examination, and create a professorship, styled 'Professorship of Normal Teaching.'"

¹⁷ The *Fort Wayne Gazette*, October 1873, in an able article, attacked the policy of founding so many financially poor colleges in the state. Its conclusion was that in the competition for students they were lowering the standards of education. Commenting on this, the *Indianapolis Journal* of Oct. 31 said "It would be much better for the cause of thorough education in this country if the number of colleges was cut down to one-fourth or one-fifth of the present number, and the standard of scholarship in those remain elevated." The other side of the argument was shown in the reply by the president of Wabash.

was the rule of men's lives in Indiana.¹⁰ Co-operation, agreement, division of labor, expertness were not acceptable terms in the communities. Conflict, struggle, opposition, contention and competition were the conditions of social and individual progress. The preacher laid the cudgel to the back of every church but his own; the business man made and handled only "none other such" goods; and likewise the professor stood out so stoutly for his own college and system that he advised the young man to attend his own college or none at all. It seems never to have occurred to them that they might all prosper at once, that the field was ample for their united activities; but rather as was the case in all lines of activity, the prosperity of one was thought to be at the expense of the other.

Lastly, the political condition of the people of Indiana was not conducive to flourishing colleges. Partisan politics crept into all social relations. There was considerable antipathy shown by the earlier inhabitants of the state for the eastern teachers. New England was a synonym for abolitionism, communism, and ecclesiasticism. So far did the partisan spirit go that when Henry Clay was invited to address a literary society at the state university the trustees ordered the engagement canceled. Demagogues played on this feeling for personal purposes.¹¹

¹⁰ Dr. Cyrus Nutt, in *Indiana School Journal*, 1898, p. 476. "The tendency of the age has hitherto been toward the excess individualism. State institutions of learning, where the youth of all classes, parties and sects come together, reciting in the same classes, to the same professors, and mingling in the same literary societies and reunions, tend to allay prejudice, smooth asperities, annihilate sectional biases, and promote the harmony and fraternity of the whole commonwealth."

¹¹ The following rather lengthy quotation is from an article written by Judge Samuel T. Perkins for the *Richmond Jeffersonian* and copied in the *Indianapolis Sentinel*. Judge Perkins was

§ 182 THE CHANGING CURRICULUM

The first important problem with the colleges was the reorganization of their curriculum to suit the western environment. The demands came from several sources. First of these was the demand that the colleges prepare teachers for the public schools. Caleb Milla, of Wabash, himself at the head of a normal department, was the leading advocate of this change. He maintained that a college should not draw public support unless it performed public functions, of which training teachers was the most necessary.

a native of Vermont, reared in Massachusetts, sat on the supreme bench of Indiana from 1847 to 1868, taught law at Northwestern and Indiana universities and for forty years was prominent in the history of the state.

"INDIANAPOLIS, April 20, 1857

DEAR JEFF:—I see by the last number of our *School Journal* that Mr. Hurty, of your city, has been appointed agent of the State Teachers' Association, in place of E. P. Cole, late of this city. The change is unimportant, as both of the men seem to be self-important, rabid, Kansas screeching Abolitionists. Such appears to be Hurty's character, as given in the Richmond papers—such, I infer, to be Cole's, from his slings at the South in the *School Journal*—a publication unworthy, from its partisan bearing, of the patronage of the people of the State. The truth is, the success of our attempt to establish free schools in this State is likely to be endangered by the efforts of Abolitionists to convert them to partisan purposes. The teachers of our children are mostly picked up by that old school Abolitionist, Slade, of Vermont, and shipped out here, from that great cesspool of treason, free-soilism, Abolitionism, Atheism, and a Kansas-screeching and adulterous clergy, New England, the section that voted for Aaron Burr and Fremont, and against their country in the War of 1812; while the Republicans here manoeuvre to get them employed in the schools, and secretly stimulate them to teach their lies in school, and insult those children of Democrats who will not swallow them. There are, I wish to say, some good and patriotic men and women in New England, but Slade don't ship them out here."

In 1852 the state university prepared to open a normal department. It was intended entirely for teachers' training. A model school was provided for in one of the rooms of the college building where actual teaching might be observed and done. This was originally intended for both men and women but in 1853 it was decided to turn the women over to the Monroe County Female seminary for training. This work at the university stopped in 1856 when Dr. Daniel Read, who had had the work in charge, resigned. In 1865 it was attempted to revive it under D. Eckley Hunter, superintendent of schools of Bloomington, but no students enrolled. Again in 1869, under G. W. Hoos, former state superintendent, the work was attempted and a few students enrolled. The president of the university was not in sympathy with the work and there was no money to pay for it.

Wabash, under Professor Mills, and some other colleges gave attention to this field but without satisfactory results. The city superintendents and state school officers despaired of any relief from that direction and turned their attention to the General Assembly in the hope of getting a school free of all college traditions. This was provided for by act of December 20, 1865.²⁰ It doubtless would have been established sooner but for the depleted treasury and the Civil war. When established the money for its maintenance was taken from the state tuition fund and money for the erection of the first buildings from the proceeds of the sale of the location. This new school squared pretty well with the democratic opinions then prevalent. The entrance conditions were not

²⁰ *Laws of Indiana, Special, 1865, ch. XXXVI.* "That there shall be established and maintained, as hereinafter provided, a State Normal School, the object of which shall be the preparation of teachers for teaching in the common schools of Indiana."

borrowed from Yale or Princeton but fixed by statute. There were four of these. the applicant must be sixteen years of age if a girl, eighteen if a boy; must be in good health; must be sound morally; and must promise to teach in the public schools. No sectarian tenets were to be taught.

The governor promptly appointed a board of trustees for the normal, which organized, January 9, 1866. Advertisements for bids for the location were inserted in the *Indianapolis Journal and Herald* (formerly and afterward the *Sentinel*), with the warning that it would take \$50,000 to secure the location, and the first locality offering that would most probably get it." On the fifteenth of the following May the bids were opened. There was only one. Terre Haute offered \$50,000 cash and a building site worth \$25,000. The offer was at once accepted but the work of constructing the buildings dragged along slowly. Not till January 6, 1870, did the school open, and then in an unfinished building and with twenty-one students. But the work was found to be good and the problem has been to provide teachers and accommodations with the scanty resources it has usually enjoyed.²¹ The teachers were chosen for their professional ability rather than for their scholastic, though scholarship has never been lacking. With the establishment of the State normal school the demand for normal departments in colleges abated.

The independent normal schools filled a gap in our system caused by the incomplete work of the sec-

²¹ *Indiana School Journal*, 1868, p. 121. "The board of trustees shall locate said school at such place as shall obligate itself for the largest donations, provided: First That said donations shall not be less, in cash value, than fifty thousand dollars. Second That such place shall furnish reasonable facilities for the success of said school."

²² *State Superintendent's Report*, 1870, p. 81.

ondary schools and the general need of prepared teachers. Their greatest work has been in the preparation of teachers for the common schools. Their predecessors were the so-called normal institutes of the sixties and seventies. Many of these normals were temporary, lasting ten weeks. They usually afforded training in the common branches, a few of the high school subjects and some forms of pedagogy. In many parts of the state there were not preparatory schools to fit prospective students for college entrance. Under these conditions a few of these normals became permanent institutions.

One of the earliest of these was the Central normal college, founded at Ladoga in 1876, by W. F. Harper and Warren Darst. In 1878 it was removed to Danville where it has since remained. At times there were as many as 800 students enrolled.

The Northern Indiana normal, now Valparaiso university, was founded in 1873 by H. B. Brown. This in some respects is the most remarkable educational institution in the state. Until recently, when it little needed it, it has had no financial assistance from any source. From an enrollment of 200 it has grown to over 5,000. It teaches everything and its only entrance requirements are health and energy. It has reached the great middle class in a way that no other institution of the state has. It has fulfilled the ideal of the independent normal. The Tri-State normal, at Angola, Marion normal, Southern Indiana normal at Mitchell, the Muncie institute and others have from time to time occupied parts of this field of education. The multiplication of state high schools has rendered much of their work unnecessary, but from 1875 to 1900 they performed a remarkably valuable service without any expense to the state.

Contemporaneous with this demand for training teachers came a demand on the colleges for training

craftsmen. The farmers began asking for aid almost as soon as the first college was established. Under Governor Wright and James D. Williams, the latter an active member of the state board of agriculture, the farmers became insistent. But only when there was a considerable endowment in sight did any of the colleges show any alacrity.²²

After the death of President Andrew Wylie in 1851 there was a loosening of traditions at Indiana university. Dr. Wylie had stood firmly for a classical school under ecclesiastical leading strings, much to the disgust of many friends of the university over the state. The times were demanding new duties of the university and the new board was on evidence of it. A committee of the new board reported a plan for a course in agricultural chemistry, under the direction of the professor of natural sciences; a normal department under Dr. Daniel Read, a course in theoretical and practical engineering in connection with the course in mathematics; and an articulation of all this work into a "Scientific" course which would lead to the A. B. degree, the same as the classic course.

Under the lead of John I. Morrison of the university board the General Assembly, June 17, 1852, in a long act of sixty-one sections, reorganizing the university, ordered the establishment of a normal school, where teachers should be trained without tuition charge, and an agricultural department. The law was a dead letter, however. There was no man to take charge of the university in the emergency. The opportunity passed and never returned. With it went

²² It is sometimes stated that Wabash, Franklin and Hanover in early days had manual training. This is true in a sense. The boys could go out among the neighbors and hoe corn and cut cordwood at "two bits" a day, but the work was hardly educational.

also a large proportion of what little interest the people had in its welfare."

Nevertheless in the catalog of 1853 there appeared announcements of the "Normal Department and Model School," "Agricultural Department" and the "School of Theoretical and Practical Engineering."²⁵ These continued for a number of years numbering among their students about one-half the total enrollment.

Failing to get what they wanted the farmers turned to congress where there appeared a prospect of a land grant in aid of agricultural educa-

²⁴ *Laws of Indiana, 1852*, p. 504. "Such trustees shall establish a normal department for instruction in the theory and practice of teaching, free of charge, of such young persons (male and female), residents of the state, as may desire to qualify themselves as teachers of common schools within the state, under such regulations as such board of trustees may make, in regard to admitting, (to) kind, and time of delivery of lecture in such department, and the granting of diplomas therein, and such regulations shall be incorporated in the annual report of the trustees to the General Assembly. Such trustees shall also appoint (establish) an Agricultural department in such university, under proper regulations, which shall likewise be set forth in their annual report."

²⁵ *Catalog of 1853*, p. 15:

"AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT

In this department are embraced natural philosophy and chemistry, both organic and inorganic, including an account of nutrition, growth, and respiration, in the vegetable and animal economy, and analyses of soils, and manures, ores, marls, &c., as connected with agriculture. The course also includes mineralogy, geology and botany.

SCHOOL OF THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ENGINEERING

This school is connected with the mathematical and chemical departments. It proposes, besides the collegiate course in mathematics and natural philosophy, to afford instruction in the theory of roads, railroads, canals, and bridges, the laws of heat and steam, theory and construction of the steam engine, and topographical surveying."

tion.²² This donation was accepted by the General Assembly, March 6, 1865.²³ A board of trustees was appointed to sell the land and carry out the bequest. It is not necessary here to detail the proceedings by which Purdue university was located at Lafayette. John Purdue's magnificent gift of over \$200,000, the gift of a one hundred acre farm and a donation of \$50,000 by Tippecanoe county added to the land grant, which netted about \$200,000, enabled the board to start with over one-half million dollars. The school was opened, September 16, 1874, with thirty-nine students. Purdue university was at first divided into four schools, natural science, engineering, agriculture, and military science. This school has completely dominated the field of technology in the state. Gradually, but steadily, as the state has awakened to its value, the work has been broadened and strengthened until it is one of the best schools in its field and one of the most aggressive agents of progress in the state.

The only competitor of Purdue in the field of technological training has been Rose Polytechnic institute. This is a high grade institution, though it does not rank at present as a standard college. It was founded by Chauncey Rose, of Terre Haute, in 1874, and opened in that city nine years later. It is

²² *United States Statutes at Large*, 37th Congress, ch. CXXX: "The interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated, by each state which may take and claim the benefit of this act to the endowment, support and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."

²³ *Laws of Indiana*, 1865, ch. XLV.

composed of three schools: mechanical engineering, civil engineering, and chemistry. It maintains a four year course."²⁰

The building of railroads and the consequent enlargement of commercial activity in the fifties caused a demand not only for training in engineering but for commercial training. Corporations, banks, railroads, factories and all industries carried on with allied capital had need of systematic and accurate records. In 1857 Thomas J. Bryant and H. D. Stratton opened a commercial college in Chicago. They had at the time similar colleges in operation at Buffalo and Albany and Cleveland. These were the well-known Bryant and Stratton institutions, one of which came to be established in each of the principal cities of the country.

It seems to have been about 1859 before one was opened in Indianapolis. Its advertisement is almost a fixture in the *Indiana School Journal* from that date. In 1856 Jeremiah Behm was conducting a commercial college in Evansville. According to the advertisement in the *School Journal*, it had been going four years and getting better all the time. City Superintendent E. C. Cole, who visited it, said it was doing thorough work. The course of study included penmanship, bookkeeping, mercantile arithmetic, business correspondence, detection of counterfeits, political economy, science of accounts, agency, partnership, bills and accounts and some actual business. The course required from ten to twenty weeks; the tuition was \$25. Little change seems to have been made in this field since that time except the addition of shorthand and typewriting.

The natural sciences received scant attention by the colleges before 1860. There were two principal

²⁰ Boone, *History of Education in Indiana*, 423.

reasons for this. First and most important, the study of these sciences was associated with irreligion. The Darwinian theory was looked upon as directly contradictory to the Bible. Moreover, here in Indiana, the leading scientists were connected with New Harmony, reputed to be a welcome haven for infidelity. Besides this, it was difficult and expensive to get men and apparatus to teach the experimental sciences.

Very little science, therefore, appears in the curricula of the Indiana colleges before the Civil war. In the Indiana university catalog of 1843 it was announced that civil engineering would be taught during the summer and that a laboratory had been erected on the campus where lectures on chemistry and natural philosophy would be illustrated. These were especially recommended only to those looking forward to the medical profession. This was all that was offered till 1853 when the General Assembly ordered an agricultural and an engineering department opened. A kind of hodge podge mess was culled from all the fields of human knowledge for these courses.²² In what form or order it was presented

²² Catalog, 1854, p. 16: "The following studies constitute the course necessary to be completed in order to graduation to the degree of Bachelor of Science. Mitchell's Ancient and Modern Geographies, Butler's English Grammar Ray's Arithmetic, Ray's Algebras, Wilson's American History English Composition and Declamation, Davies' Bouviers' Algebra, Geometry (Davies' Legendre), Applications of Algebra to Geometry, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry (Davies'), Descriptive Geometry (Davies'), History Analytical Geometry (Davies') English Literature, Rhetoric, Elements of Criticism, Chemistry (Stillman), Calculus (Davies'), Mental Philosophy (Reid), Geology (Hitchcock), Agricultural Chemistry, Physiology, Mechanics (Bartlett), Logic (Whately), Evidences of Christianity, Political Economy (Say), Moral Philosophy, Surveying (Davies'), Civil Engineering, International Law, Acoustics and Optics (Bartlett), Astronomy, Constitution of the United States, Butler's Analogy."

does not appear, nor is it apparent just why it should have been called scientific.

Hanover was always among the most liberal toward science. The catalog of 1849 gave Olmstead's Natural Philosophy and Woods' Botany in the junior, and chemistry, astronomy, geology and mineralogy in the senior college year. Jared M. Stone, the professor in charge, illustrated his lectures with experiments. This was not changed until after the Civil war.

Wabash was the home of pure classicism. As late as 1852, after the new state constitution had gone into effect, the whole classic course was intact except the last term of the last year when the professor of chemistry delivered a series of lectures on geology, with experimental illustrations.

In 1860 in an elaborate article on the course of study for colleges, Rev. Dr. W. W. Wightman found little use for the natural sciences except to train the powers of observation and vary the monotony of the language work.²⁰ One of the first questions which came before the State College association, organized in 1868, was the place of science in the college course. A committee appointed at the first meeting, reported at the second, 1869, that Greek and Latin should be cut to one-fourth of the whole time in the course, but it was the general opinion that this was too short.²¹ Dr. Archibald in his inaugural address at Hanover, 1869, regretted the fact that something would have to be yielded to the demand for scientific and utilitarian subjects in the college course.²²

The real change did not come till in the eighties when the influence of Louis Agassiz, David Dale Owen, Richard Dale Owen, David Starr Jordan,

²⁰ *Indiana School Journal*, 1860, p. 73.

²¹ *Indiana School Journal*, 1869, p. 200.

²² *Indiana School Journal*, 1869, p. 159.

John M. Coulter, John and Josephus Collett and the Indiana Academy of Science, organized at Indianapolis, October 6, 1858, began to be felt.³³ Under these men the lecturer became a research man, the text book gave way to the laboratory and demonstration, to investigation.

§ 183 RELIGION AT THE COLLEGES

Religious education was a matter of first concern with these early colleges. All were sectarian except the state university and it may as well have been, for it had the reputation over the state of being dominated by the Presbyterians. Prayers were held in its chapel every morning and every student had to attend.³⁴ In 1860 the same requirement still held with the addition that each student must attend a sermon at 3 p. m. Sunday in the university chapel. "At all chapel exercises students are expected to be in their seats when the bell stops tolling."³⁵ At Wabash in 1856 "every student was required to attend morning and evening prayers; also a biblical recitation on Sabbath morning and a lecture by the president on Sabbath afternoon."³⁶ At Hanover in 1850 the course was so arranged that each student every day recited some lesson directly related to biblical history. Each Sabbath all were required to attend a lesson on the Assembly catechism, a public Sabbath sermon especially for the students, regular Sabbath services either in the chapel or in some congregation of the village, and in addition attend prayers at the chapel morning and evening.³⁷

³³ *Indiana School Journal*, 1858, pp. 330-332.

³⁴ Catalog of 1840.

³⁵ Catalog of 1860.

³⁶ Wabash Catalog 1855-6.

³⁷ Hanover Catalog 1849-50.

Asbury maintained a school of theology, the only considerable school of that kind in the state. Besides this every day's work began with religious exercises in the chapel, and there was a sermon delivered in the chapel on Sabbath afternoons by a member of the faculty. Attendance at both were compulsory as well as morning attendance on Sunday at some church selected by the parents. Weekly prayer and class meetings were held, but attendance was not compulsory.⁶⁶ These conditions were fairly uniform in all the regular colleges.

§ 184 EDUCATION

The education of women was a troublesome task for the earlier colleges. It was pretty generally believed that women were unable to master the heavy subjects like higher mathematics, moral philosophy, logic or even Latin and Greek. For this and social reasons it was thought best to put them in separate schools.

In the old seminary system of the state there had been a few of these institutions founded expressly for women. Such were the Greencastle Female seminary, 1830, conducted for a generation by Mrs. W. C. Larabee; the Monroe County Female seminary, 1833, of which Cornelius Perring was the master; the Salem Female seminary of John I. Morrison, 1835; Fort Wayne Female college, 1847, opened largely through the efforts of Isaac Jenkinson, who later secured the admission of women to Indiana university, Rockville Female seminary, 1840; Crawfordsville Female seminary, 1840; DePauw Female college at New Albany, 1845; Indiana Female college at Indianapolis, founded by George W. Hoss, 1850; and perhaps a dozen others. Nearly all of

⁶⁶ Asbury Catalog 1870-71.

these were private and sectarian. The new state constitution closed all seminaries that depended either directly or indirectly on public funds.³⁹ Oberlin college, Ohio, first of colleges, admitted women in 1837. It was only a half hearted admission, however, for it had a "Ladies' course." At graduation women were not allowed on the stage, the professor kindly reading their essays for them. Antioch college, at Yellow Springs, made no distinctions whatever when it was opened in 1853 by Horace Mann. In 1853 Northwestern Christian (Butler) at Indianapolis, admitted women but sustained a "Ladies' course" for a few years.

The subject of coeducation had been a common one for discussion among teachers and school men for a number of years. In 1867 Isaac Jenkinson laid a resolution before the trustees of Indiana university providing that women be admitted on the same terms as men. The resolution carried by the doubtful vote of four to three, and in the next catalog the invitation was offered.⁴⁰ Sarah P. Morrison had already made application for admission and was answered that there was no law nor rule to prevent her entering.

³⁹ *Indiana School Journal*, 1890, p. 421. "The old arguments against co-education are, or rather were 1. If women are admitted the college will become demoralized; both sexes will neglect their studies for each other's society; courtships will abound, scandals will arise; no prudent parent will permit a daughter to thus associate with young men when away from home. 2. To admit ladies means to lower the standard of scholarship, they have not the mental strength to compete successfully with young men. We cannot lower our standard, and, therefore, cannot admit ladies."

⁴⁰ *Catalog Indiana University*, 1868, p. 24: "Ladies are admitted to the Collegiate Course, Classical and Scientific, on the same terms as young men, and are entitled to the same rights and privileges, but no ladies will be admitted to the Preparatory Department."

She was therefore the first woman to enter the university. The Asbury university catalog of 1869-70 also has the announcement that women are admitted on equal terms with men. Merom admitted women in 1868.⁴¹

§ 185 LAW

The practice of the law had great fascination for early Indianians. It was considered the best introduction to politics, a field which ultimately claimed the attention of nearly all ambitious men. The early lawyers were trained in the office but there soon developed a demand for law schools. The trustees of the state university from the first looked forward to the time when a law school could be made a part of the university. Actual work began in 1841 with Judge David McDonald of the local circuit court as instructor. In 1847 Judge W T Otto joined McDonald. In 1876 the school closed for want of funds, opening again in 1889, since when it has continued.

Asbury opened a law school in 1853 under charge of John A. Matson. From 1854 to 1858 A. C. Downey was professor. In 1862 it was discontinued and opened again in 1871; closed in 1882, opened in 1884 and was finally discontinued in 1894. Lack of funds thus crippled the best law school in the state up to that time. The school had issued degrees to 187 students.

Notre Dame opened a law department in 1868. It met with only partial success till 1883 when Prof. William Hoyues, a practicing attorney of Chicago, took charge and placed it on a secure footing. Judge

⁴¹ T. A. Wylie, *History of Indiana University*, 74. In 1868 a company of 23 young women demanded entrance to Wabash. The faculty after due deliberation refused to admit them. *Indiana School Journal*, 1868, p. 501.

Timothy E. Howard was for a long time connected with this school.⁴¹

The Angola, the Indiana law school of Indianapolis, the Benjamin Harrison law school at Indianapolis as the successor of the Indianapolis college of law, and the American Central, the Central normal college and a few others have conducted work in this field. The Indiana University school of law in 1901 made its requirements a three year course with college entrance requirements necessary to enter. In 1911 the entrance requirements were raised to two years of college work, thus making the school an integral part of the university. It now offers a doctorate in jurisprudence.⁴²

§ 186 MEDICINE

Early medical education in Indiana was given, as with law, generally in the office of the practitioner. The best physicians supplemented this with training in the Ohio, Kentucky and eastern medical schools. The first medical school in the state seems to have been at Laporte. It was opened by Dr. Daniel Meeker, in the spring of 1842. During the months of March and April of that year he gave a course of lectures on the general field of the practice of medicine. The school was a part of a larger scheme, chartered in 1842 as Laporte university.⁴³ The school was in session eight weeks in March and April and it required two terms to graduate. It corresponded to the "institutes," or summer normals, in the general field of education. The attendance grew to be about

⁴¹ *History of the University of Notre Dame*, 122.

⁴² *Courts and Lawyers*, 472, *seq.* See, also, "Legal Education" by W. P. Rogers in *Proceedings Indiana Collegiate Association*, 1898.

⁴³ *Laws of Indiana, Local*, 1841, ch. LXII. See, also, Dr. G. W. H. Kemper, *Medical History of Indiana*, 62 and 69.

100. In four or five years the name was changed to Indiana Medical college and in 1848 the spring course was given at Lafayette, hoping to rouse interest in that city where a permanent home for the school might be made. No sufficient inducement was found and Drs. Elizer Deming and Daniel Meeker transferred their interest to the Medical College of Indianapolis.

At the session of Indiana Asbury board of trustees, November 1, 1848, the Indiana Central medical college was established at Indianapolis.^a The university was not able to support the medical school and it was abandoned after four years. From 1852 to 1869 no medical school worth mentioning occupied the field. In the latter year the Indiana medical college was founded. In 1874 the College of Physicians and Surgeons was established, as the result of a division in the faculty of the former. These schools continued as rivals until 1878 when they were united to form the Medical college of Indiana, a school of Butler university until 1883. The Fort Wayne College of Medicine, founded in 1879, the Central College of Physicians and Surgeons and the Indiana Medical college united in 1905 to form the School of Medicine of Purdue university. The Indiana university school of medicine at Bloomington, founded in 1903, and the State College of Physicians and Surgeons, founded at Indianapolis in 1906, were united as the Indiana University School of Medicine in 1907. In 1908 the Indiana Medical college was united with the latter, since when the Indiana University School of Medicine has continued. These steps have been enumerated to show the process of unification and organization. The entrance requirements have been raised gradually to university standards and at present are guarded by statute. The state has, in the in-

^a Asbury Catalog, 1864, p. 15.

terests of public health, extended its supervision and control over this field more thoroughly than over any other."

§ 187 GRADUATE SCHOOLS

Graduate work has been done in a number of Indiana colleges, though only one at present announces a graduate school in its annual catalog. Notre Dame offers work leading to the doctorate in botany, chemistry, English, Greek, Latin, philosophy, physics and law.⁴⁴ Purdue and DePauw offer one year of graduate study leading to the master's degree. Although Indiana university has been offering graduate work since before 1880 not until 1882 was a scheme of work laid out leading to the doctorate. The requirements were restated in the catalog of 1887, one year for the master and three for the doctor. In 1904 a definite program of studies and requirements was laid down which has not been changed materially since, so far as it applies to the liberal arts. The requirements of the professional schools have been raised gradually until those of law, medicine and education have become essentially graduate in character. The bachelor's degree in law requires five years of college work, the doctor's degree in medicine six years, and in education the same as in the liberal arts. The full course of seven years is offered in all.⁴⁵

§ 188 COLLEGE UNITY

As might be inferred from the previous part of this chapter there was little cordiality among the col-

⁴⁴ These facts have been taken from the various university catalogs and the statutes. The consolidation has not been effected without difficulty, but these are not germane to this history and are omitted.

⁴⁵ Catalog 1915-16.

⁴⁶ Catalog 1916.

leges during the first half century of their existence. Their common bonds of poverty and neglect seemed only to make them more irritable and jealous. The jealousy and mutual opposition did not exist so much among the faculties as among the alumni and supporters of the various colleges. A false notion was prevalent that each student that matriculated at one college was just so much a loss to all the others. The fact is and was that collegiate education is somewhat like habits or fashions, the more students at one college the more will soon be at all, providing a reasonable equality of facilities prevails at all. A very meager per cent. of the youth of Indiana, or of any other state, have ever attended college. The possible number of freshmen in the state is about 80,000. Of these only 12,267 graduated from the high schools in 1916. The number of freshmen who entered college is not ascertainable but was far below the latter number.

The leading educators of the state have always deprecated competition in college work, pointing out that their mutual bickerings led directly to mutual loss. In 1867 Barnabas C. Hobbs, state superintendent, called a number of college professors together at DePauw college, New Albany, and there, on the 26th of December, following, they formed a State College association. In connection with the State Teachers' association two or three successful meetings were held, before it was allowed to die. In 1878 it was re-organized and has since continued more or less active.

Several problems have been prominent at these meetings of college men. The old question of religious instruction has remained throughout, though sectarianism in the old denominational sense has been abandoned.* Far more important has been the

* See the address by J. J. Mills, president of Earlham, in *Proceedings of Indiana College Association*, 1899, p. 2.

problem of internal college organization. This has included the standardization of entrance requirements, the requirements for the baccalaureate degree, and the nature and scope of graduate work. The entrance requirements have been finally fixed by the high schools and the state department at four years of high school work above the eight grades of the common schools. The state controlled colleges are virtually compelled to receive the graduates of commissioned high schools, though some feeble effort is made to determine what studies shall be pursued in the high school by those who desire to enter the colleges. The obvious contradiction in this claim has prevented its being insisted on.⁵⁰

The question of the content of the baccalaureate degree has been more chronic. It opens up all the old curriculum wars of the past. The friends of the old Latin, Greek, mathematics, philosophy menu stood stoutly for a prescribed course composed of their favorite branches.⁵¹ Public opinion, in one form or another, has gradually forced science, history, commercial and industrial subjects into the curriculum. An amusing feature of this contest is that as each subject found itself securely within the curriculum it at once assumed a "holier than thou" attitude to its former friends still struggling for admission.⁵²

⁵⁰ For a statement of entrance requirements in 1916 see *State Superintendent's Report*, 1916, p. 578. This, it will be observed, is but a summary of the State High School curriculum. For an earlier discussion and list see "College Entrance Requirements," by R. L. Backett, of Earlham, in *Proc. Ind. Col. Association*, 1900, p. 21.

⁵¹ See addresses by H. A. Gobin and Scot Butler in *Proceedings Ind. Col. Association* for 1883.

⁵² A good idea of this struggle continually going on may be had from a study made by a committee of Indiana University in 1910. There is scarcely a volume of the *Proceedings of the*

Still more difficult has been the determination of what and where graduate work shall be done. An indication of the partial solution of this question will be found in the brief notice, given above, of legal, medical, and theological education. The tendency is to demand creative scholarship in graduate work rather than culture. Finally, the desire of Caleb Mills is partly realized in the state board of education's classification of the colleges as given in the official reports.

Indiana College Association but contains one or more addresses on this perennial subject.

CHAPTER XXXV

COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

§ 189 THE CHANGE

Before the Civil war the manufacturing industry in Indiana attracted little attention. The principal businesses were sawing lumber, packing pork, grinding flour, and distilling whisky. The first was carried on almost entirely for local home use and was strictly a neighborhood business like threshing or harvesting. Saw mills were to be found in almost every neighborhood, to which farmers hauled logs for house and barn patterns. Coopers were to be found in every locality, who secured staves from the neighboring forest, often getting the timber free, and making apple, pork or flour barrels. The hoops were made of hickory poles cut in the nearby woods. A negligible quantity of both timber and hoop-poles was shipped by flatboat to the coast for the use of the sugar planters.

Pork-packing in the thirties and forties in Madison, Terre Haute, and a few other towns was a considerable business. The work had to be done in the winter months on account of a lack of refrigerators. The barrels were made and stacked on the ground during the summer and when the packing season opened idle farm hands from the vicinity were easily secured to do the work. The milling and distilling business could be carried on throughout the year if water was available for power. There were only a few merchant mills and distilleries, located at such towns as New Albany, Lawrenceburg, Terre Haute and Logansport.

In 1820 there were 61,315 persons engaged in agriculture and 3,229 persons in manufacture. Of the latter Clark county led with 389 persons so employed; Jefferson county had 271, Knox had 212; Wayne, 281; Dearborn, 245, and Fayette, 252.¹ Most of these manufactures were shipped south by flat-boat.

In 1840 there were employed in the coal and iron industries of the state 150 men; in the lumber business, 767; in the packing industry, 237; in making machinery, 120; there were twelve cotton mills employing 210 persons; in leather and tannery work there were 978 persons employed, in breweries and distilleries, 500; in paper mills, 100; carriages and wagons, 481 men; the whole amount of capital invested in manufacturing was \$4,132,045, including \$1,241,312 used in building houses and \$2,077,018 invested in 204 flour mills, 846 grist mills and 1,248 saw mills. These latter employed 2,224 men, an average besides the proprietor of one man to the mill.²

In 1860 there was \$17,881,586 invested in manufacturing, producing, annually, goods worth \$41,840,434 and paying \$6,147,667 to the 20,755 hands employed. There were 5,110 different establishments which used up \$26,613,038 worth of raw material, almost all of which was produced in the state. Wayne county led with \$2,761,010 worth of manufactured goods; Jefferson was second with \$2,473,884; Dearborn, third with \$2,060,042. These were the only counties above \$2,000,000. Wayne county turned out annually \$307,500 worth of farm machinery and \$1,201,014 worth of flour and meal, besides \$243,600 worth of whisky. Jefferson county (Madison) packed \$600,000 worth of pork, Vigo (Terre Haute), \$685,-

¹ *United States Census, for 1820.*

² *United States Census, for 1840.*

000 worth. Dearborn (Lawrenceburg) distilled \$578,800 worth of whisky, Floyd (New Albany) ground \$291,500 worth of flour; Cass (Logansport) county turned out \$339,538 worth of flour and Clark county (Jeffersonville), \$331,016 worth. Floyd county was the greatest manufacturing center and New Albany the leading commercial city of the state. Flour and meal were by far the leading manufactured products of the state, totaling \$17,337,950. Lumber came next at \$4,271,605, then pork, at \$3,350,754; whisky, at \$2,063,121; machinery, at \$1,409,465; leather goods (boots and shoes), at \$1,087,495. There were no other items as high as \$1,000,000 in value.*

This census, 1860, reported one cotton mill costing \$250,000 and employing 177 men and 190 women. This had been established at Cannelton in 1848 and represented a movement to build up a cotton manufacturing industry on the lower Ohio, using native coal and bringing cotton up from the coast on the river steamers. During the session of the General Assembly of 1847 six charters for cotton mills were enacted. The Taylor cotton mill, headed by Gen. Zachary Taylor; the Ward cotton mill, headed by Robert J. Ward, one of the leading capitalists of Louisville; the Indiana cotton mills, headed by John Helm, governor of Kentucky; the Cannelton cotton mills, headed by C. T. James, of Rhode Island and having on its board of incorporators such men as Judge E. M. Huntington, Salmon P. Chase and Randal Crawford; the Perry cotton mills, headed by Virgil McKnight; and the Clay cotton mill, headed by John J. Jacobs, with Abel C. Pepper and Pincney James among its incorporators. Besides these, six other manufacturing companies were incorporated to be operated at the same place.*

* *United States Census, of 1860.*

* *Laws of Indiana, Special, 1847 (Index, Incorporations).*

The cause of this remarkable boom was the opening of the American Cannel coal mines at Cannelton in 1836 by Gen. Seth Hunt, of New Hampshire, with Boston capital. This company was mining a half million bushels of coal annually at a low price.* The

* *Cannelton*, a pamphlet written by Hamilton Smith and published by the American Cannel Coal Co. This is withal an excellent summary of manufactured conditions east and west. Two of the papers are by Judge Huntington.

"But is the manufacture of cotton to be confined chiefly to the rugged hills of New England? To the minds of some of us, the day is coming when the valley of the Ohio will, so far as this great interest is concerned, bear the same relation to New England that New England now does to Great Britain. It is now settled incontestibly that steam power, where coal is cheap, is cheaper than the cheapest water power for propelling machinery. This, then, is our position in the West. The great Illinois coal field touches and crosses the Ohio river, say 100 miles below Louisville. There, on either the Kentucky or Indiana side, for one hundred miles, may be found large quantities of the finest coal for steam purposes, which may be had at the river banks for four to five cents per bushel. In New England, where steam power is used—and that is the case in many of the most extensive and recently erected factories—the cost of coal is, on an average, full 20 cents per bushel, making a difference in our favor, in this single important item, of full three hundred per cent. Here, on the Ohio river, we are within ear shot of the cotton fields of Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas—on a river navigable at all seasons of the year—where provisions are, and always will be, cheaper than in any other part of the United States—in a perfectly healthy position, and as far south as is compatible with this important consideration. It is certain that, at no distant day, a railroad communication will be established between the Southern Atlantic cities and the navigable waters of the West. This noble scheme of internal communication will connect the whole great Valley of the Mississippi with the Southern Atlantic seaboard, and when this is accomplished it requires no prophet to foresee that the commanding ascendancy of the Northern cities in the business of foreign importations and internal commerce must be greatly impaired. It is impossible to estimate the effect which the opening of such a direct communication will have upon all the relations of the South and West." pp. 88 and 89.

68 miners employed in 1859 produced \$86,598 worth of coal. The Civil war nipped this boom before it ripened.

St. Joseph county was the leader in 1860 in the carriage building industry with a modest output of \$81,300, the product of three shops employing 47 hands. The Studebaker Brothers was then an unincorporated blacksmith shop, eight years old. The redoubtable Scotchman, James Oliver, had been operating a small foundry in South Bend for five years, but this had been destroyed by fire in 1859. There was little in the St. Joseph valley in 1860 to predict the present manufacturing center.

The census of 1870 showed 133,221 persons engaged in manufacturing and mining as against 266,777 in agriculture, 80,048 in professional and personal services and 36,517 in trade and transportation. The figures do not show the full significance of the change. The merchant milling and the lumber business had been supplanted to a considerable extent by larger manufacturing plants. Marion county with 740 establishments, 6,167 laborers, \$4,303,145 invested and \$16,642,105 output, had far surpassed the other counties, due largely to the concentration of Civil war activities there and to its excellent railroad connections. Allen county was its nearest competitor with an output of \$6,457,895 worth. Vanderburg, St. Joseph, Vigo, Floyd and Tippecanoe followed in the order named. Of these St. Joseph and Floyd also profited directly by the Civil war trade. The Studebakers were unable to supply the government demand on their shops.* At this time Indiana had 120 iron foundries and mills, 356 furniture factories, 1,946 saw mills, 17 paper mills, 190 textile mills, and 1,275 clothing factories. There were made in 1870 in the state 39,324 grain cradles but no harvesters.

* *United States Census, of 1870.*

The census of 1880 showed 11,198 manufacturing establishments in Indiana with an invested capital of \$65,742,962, employing 69,508 hands and producing goods worth \$148,006,411. This decade marks the turn to large manufacturing plants. The state had lost 649 in the number of shops but had gained over \$12,000,000 in investment and \$40,000,000 in output. The number of shops had decreased five and a half per cent. while the investment had increased 26 per cent. and the output over 36 per cent. In a list of 100 cities of the United States, Indianapolis, with \$27,453,089 worth, ranked twenty-first in the gross output of its factories; Terre Haute, fifty-fifth with \$9,185,246 worth; Evansville, sixty first with \$8,091,914 worth; and Fort Wayne, seventy-third, with \$5,816,924 worth. Terre Haute ranked fifth in the United States in the product of its flour mills and fifth in the product of its distilleries; Evansville took sixth place in the product of its saw mills; and Indianapolis, fifth in the product of its slaughter houses. The six leading industries of Indianapolis in order were: slaughtering, foundry, flour, cooperage, fertilizer, and furniture. These are almost typical of the state.

The Indiana census of 1880 showed a falling off in the number of laborers in manufacturing plants, there being only 110,127.* It is interesting to note that of these laborers, 11,646 were native Germans, 2,419 Irish and 3,299 English. Indianapolis had 10,268 laborers, of whom 1,436 were Germans and 485 Irish.

The leading centers were Wayne county for agricultural implements, Vigo for flour and iron, Vanderburg for flour, St. Joseph for agricultural implements, carriages and wagons and sewing machine cases, Posey for flour, Marion for slaughter-house

* The list for 1870 included laborers in all fields.

products, Laporte for railroad cars, Lake for slaughter-house products, Dearborn for whisky, Clark for railroad cars, and Allen for foundry and machine-shop products.

Flour led the list of products with a total value of \$29,591,397, or about 20 per cent.; slaughter-house products were second with \$15,209,294, lumber, third, at \$14,260,830; then there was a drop to foundry and machine-shop products valued at \$6,833,648. Marion led the counties in value of manufactured goods, being almost three times that of Vigo. Then came Vigo, Vanderburg, Allen, Wayne, St. Joseph, and Floyd, all close together, and each above \$5,000,000. The business of the state was well distributed.*

The decade from 1880 to 1890 was one of average growth for Indiana industries, but the gain of that decade was practically lost in the next when the state passed through one of its most serious industrial depressions. The period, however, saw a great change in the industrial activity of the state. There was an average number of 2,002 hands engaged in the canning industry in 1900 as compared with none twenty years before. The average annual earnings of each hand had grown from \$316 in 1880 to \$428 in 1900. The number of wage earners had increased from 69,508 in 1880 and 110,590 in 1890 to 155,956 in 1900. Of these 133,009 were men, 19,266 women and only 3,681 children under sixteen years of age. The capital invested in manufacturing plants had jumped from \$65,742,962 in 1880 to \$131,605,366 in 1890, and to \$234,481,528 in 1900; while the total output had reached \$378,120,140. The gross value of agricultural products for 1900 was \$204,450,196, showing that the state had almost doubled the value of its raw materials before putting them on the market. Indi-

* *United States Census, of 1890.*

anapolis had 16,027 laborers, Evansville 6,815, Fort Wayne 5,644, South Bend 5,750, and Terre Haute 4,720. New Albany dropped out of the principal manufacturing cities during the nineties, chiefly because its glass works were dismantled and moved to the gas belt. The use of gas in manufacturing had practically ceased by 1900. In that year 89 per cent. of the power was steam, 4½ per cent. water and gas, and all other 6½ per cent. Indiana still depended heavily on flour and meal, ranking sixth among the states in output, while in slaughter-house products it ranked fifth. In liquors it ranked fifth; in clay products, sixth; in glass, second; its lumber industry was rapidly waning and it stood eighth; in the manufacture of agricultural implements it was fifth; and in railroad cars, fourth.

A comparison of counties shows some sudden changes. Marion held still as easy lead, but Lake county had jumped into second place with more than half as much capital invested as Marion. St. Joseph almost equaled Lake, and Madison, the leading county of the gas belt, came forth with invested capital at \$15,321,452. There was then a long step down to Vanderburg with \$10,594,090; Allen, with \$9,707,668, and Vigo, with \$9,262,259.

There had been a decided change in the direction of the investment of capital. Carriage and wagon factories took the lead with a value of \$17,718,489; iron and steel followed with \$14,994,210; foundry and machine-shop products, \$14,820,001; glass, \$12,775,389; then came the old staples, saw and planing mills, \$10,947,574; flour and grist mills, \$10,734,544. However, in the output there was little relative change. Slaughter-house products and meat led with \$42,891,243; flour and meal followed with \$30,150,766; lumber with \$20,613,724; iron and steel, \$19,338,481; foundry and machine-shop products with \$17,228,-

096; whisky, \$16,961,058; glass, \$14,757,883; and carriages and wagons, \$12,742,243. The glass manufacture employed the most men, 10,910; with car shops a close second, 10,246. The distilleries employed 1,020, and the slaughter-houses, 3,111. The greatest increase had come in the gas belt and in Lake county.* However, the per cent. of increase was general throughout the state and the period of congestion had not been reached.

The *Census* of 1910 showed a development along the lines already started rather than any new departures. The unnatural expansion due to the discovery of natural gas had run its course and a decline in the glass industry was the first and most apparent result. The feature of the decade was the building of the industrial center on the coast of Lake Michigan. The meat-packing industry declined sharply in comparison, as a result of the moving of the packing houses from Hammond.

The number of agricultural implement factories declined from 45 to 39, but the number of hands employed increased from 3,957 to 6,061. In the automobile industry there were 7,753 hands employed and a product worth \$23,764,000; the brick and tile works employed 4,361 men; canning and preserving, 3,952 hands in 134 shops; the carriage and wagon business employed 10,100 hands, a loss of 500; the railroad shops employed 13,745 hands; cement mills, 2,616; electrical machine shops, 3,723; flour and grist mills, 3,508; foundry and machine shops, 18,439; furniture and refrigerators, 12,352; glass works, 9,936, a decline of 3,612; iron and steel mills, 13,206; saw and planing mills, 12,840; stone mills, 3,811; potteries, 2,373; printing and publishing, 9,600; slaughter and packing houses, 4,862; and tobacco manufactor-

* *United States Census, of 1900.*

ies, 3,416. These are by no means all the lines of manufacture carried on in the state, but only the ones employing most labor. The list shows the wide range of the state's industries and also that no one product can be said to characterize the state. The raw materials for the factories, excepting the rolling mills, are the products of the state.

A similar list will show that the laboring class is well distributed over the state; of the 218,263 persons employed in factories in the state, Indianapolis has 37,929; South Bend, 13,609; Evansville, 10,162; Fort Wayne, 12,184, and Terre Haute, 5,159, leaving over half the laborers distributed pretty equally in the other cities and towns except Gary.

The total manufactured products of the state were valued at \$579,075,046, or a per capita value of over \$200 for its 2,700,876 people. Slaughter-house products held the lead in value at \$47,289,469; flour and meal products were valued at \$40,541,422; foundry and machine-shop products at \$39,883,774; and iron and steel from the rolling mills at \$38,651,848. This high rating for slaughter-house products is accounted for not by the increased output in the quantity of beef and pork, but by the enormously augmented prices. Forty-six other products each exceeded \$1,000,000 in value.¹⁰

¹⁰ *United States Census, of 1910.* The following table shows the relation between the wage earners and the total population in the 25 largest cities:

	Population 1910	Laborers 1909	Products 1909
Indianapolis	233,050	81,815	\$126,522,133
Evansville	99,647	8,997	22,329,024
Fort Wayne	63,933	10,298	23,696,809
Terre Haute	58,157	4,359	21,703,446
South Bend	53,684	11,789	27,854,527
Muncie	24,005	4,033	9,684,238
Anderson	22,476	4,393	13,764,938

In 1850, broadly speaking, there were no cities in Indiana; there were only three wage earners out of every 200 of the population. In 1910 there were 1,145,000 persons living in cities of over 2,500 population, while seven out of each one hundred were wage earners. The wage earners in Indianapolis alone in 1910 exceeded the combined population of the three largest cities in 1850, while the wage earners of either Gary or South Bend now exceed in number those of the whole state in 1850. The army of wage earners that now goes out to the shops every morning exceeds by ten thousand all the soldiers who enlisted for the Civil war in Indiana. Through these shops and through the hands of these laborers pass practically all the raw materials produced in the state, excepting live stock. There were in 1910, 7,969 shops or factories. The raw materials, as they went in, were worth \$334,375,000; the finished products, as they came out, were worth \$579,075,000. The wage earners received

	Population 1910	Laborers 1909	Products 1909
Richmond ..	22,324	3,621	10,373,837
Hammond ..	20,925	3,841	15,590,250
New Albany	20,629	1,910	3,482,530
Lafayette ..	20,081	1,000	5,541,966
Marion ..	19,359	2,269	4,442,116
Elkhart ..	19,282	3,010	6,932,065
East Chicago	19,006	2,370	5,483,500
Logansport	19,060	2,169	4,201,300
Michigan City ..	19,027	2,887	8,289,579
Kokomo ..	17,010	2,051	5,451,441
Gary ..	16,802	..	.....
Vincennes ..	14,895	1,233	4,233,574
Albion ..	11,886	3,445	10,882,848
Elwood ..	11,028	2,073	8,407,550
Peru ..	10,910	619	1,007,156
Laporte ..	10,525	1,674	3,971,624
Jeffersonville ..	10,412	768	1,915,682
Huntington ..	10,272	1,376	2,227,558

\$121,846,000. There were burned in the furnaces of these factories 16,800 tons of anthracite coal, 6,356, 825 tons of bituminous coal, 930,397 tons of coke, 65,780 cords of wood, 743,195 barrels of oil, and 1,247,053,000 feet of gas for fuel. There was invested in the business \$508,717,000, an amount almost equal to the total product. Of the wage earners, 188,103 were men over sixteen years of age, 2,581 were boys under sixteen; 26,548 were women over sixteen, and 1,031 were girls under sixteen. There were engaged in farming at this time, 344,454 men and women; in manufacturing and other mechanical pursuits, including such craftsmen as painters, paper hangers, plasterers, and plumbers, 310,402; in transportation, 75,711; in trade (merchandise), 99,676; in public service, 10,368; in professional service, 38,777, in domestic service, 84,452; and in clerical work, 38,570. These last statistics are given to complete the industrial picture.

It is not necessary to point out the fact that the state has changed from a purely agricultural society in 1850 to a remarkably complex society in which the industrial elements are well balanced in 1910. Such a state was in the mind of Alexander Hamilton when he argued for a protective tariff, and in the mind of Henry Clay when he outlined his American system. Whether it has been, or is now best for Indiana to devote part of its labor to the manufacture of its raw products into finished form or whether it would have been better to confine all efforts to the production of raw agricultural and mineral products is a question for politicians. The fact is, Indiana is a state with remarkably well diversified industry. The transition has produced great difficulties for the General Assembly. The agricultural constitution of 1850 has been heavily burdened by the industrialism of the last three decades and no doubt but for legislative

help from the federal government would have broken down before now.

From a more distant viewpoint the era is one of vast significance. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were an era of church legislation. Wars, politics, legislation and law courts were dominated by questions of church polity. The eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries were similarly occupied by questions of government and law, usually called politics. Democracy was striving for political and juridical expression. The political rights of classes, representation, political organization, elections, legal procedure, terms and powers of officers were the popular topics in the forum. Liberty and equality were the watchwords.

Since the Civil war, in Indiana and the nation, questions of an industrial nature have occupied more and more of the thought of legislatures. The two traditional parties of the United States have differed on this subject from the beginning. The followers of Hamilton, Clay and McKinley have favored aiding, controlling, restraining or regulating industry by governmental agencies. The followers of Jefferson and Jackson have regularly resolved in political conventions against all sumptuary laws. This party assumed that industry would spring up and be regulated according to natural or economic laws with which it was not necessary for statute law to interfere. This latter theory, since the Civil war, has gradually weakened until under the present national administration a program of industrial legislation more drastic than ever advocated by any party has been enacted. It is significant of the times that both parties, in apparently equal measure, have supported this program.

§ 190 INDUSTRIAL PARTIES

The work of the General Assembly in this field is of two kinds, statutes for the encouragement of industry and statutes regulating industry. In the former field the federal government has done more than the state. Most commerce in this country is interstate and hence falls within the field of federal jurisdiction.

The General Assembly of 1851, following the provisions of the new constitution, passed general incorporation laws under which, as variously amended, almost all the corporations of this state act. This law provided that corporations be financed by the sale of stock, governed by a board of directors, from three to eleven in number, selected annually from the American stockholders. The directors were required to publish an annual statement of the financial condition of the corporation and pay dividends only when the outstanding debts were less than three-fourths of the capital stock. Otherwise stockholders were liable individually to laborers for services rendered and to other debtors in an amount by each equal to the capital stock owned.¹¹ No legislation has been enacted by the General Assembly which can be said to encourage manufacture in the sense that a protective tariff is intended to do.

On the other hand a vast amount of legislation has had for its purpose the definition of rights and duties of employees and employers, of the conduct, condition and care of machines and shops, concerning the character and condition of the products, of the manner of its sale, the limitation and regulation of hours of service, the settlement of disputes over wages, regulation of prices and quality, prevention of accident and disease, the prevention of child labor,

¹¹ *Revised Statutes of Indiana*, 1852, ch. LXVI.

looking toward sanitation both in places of labor and in condition of output.

There have come to be recognized four parties in this great controversy, the capitalists, the laborers, the public, and the women and children. No definite line of division can be drawn separating these classes. In fact one person may belong to all four parties. The third party includes the other three and loses when either loses. However, legislation has taken its name usually from its intention to aid one of these parties more than another. It has often, perhaps usually, been wrongly assumed that an aid to one party must of necessity be an injury to some other. These parties variously represented have been the aggressive influences in the politics of the state since 1875. Just as the fight in the era of church legislation was against the Catholic church for freedom of worship, and against royalty in the political era for political freedom and control, so it is said to be in this industrial era against capitalism for the economic freedom of the masses of laborers.

§ 191 LABOR LEGISLATION

One of the oldest trade unions in the United States is the Typographical. Local organizations of typesetters existed in Indiana many years before the Civil war. Delegates from local unions in many parts of the United States met at New York, December 2-5, 1850, and organized the national convention of journeymen printers. A well-known Indiana printer, George E. Greene, then of Louisville, helped found the organization.²² The railway employees organized during and soon after the Civil war; the engineers in 1863, the conductors in 1868, the firemen in 1873, the trainmen in 1883 and the American Railway union

²² George A. Tracy, *History of the Typographical Union*, 117.

under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs, of Terre Haute, was formed in 1893. This is but an example of the progress of organization in all fields of industry. From the army of miners down to the squads of chimney sweeps the laborers have organized. Nor are they peculiar in this, nor were they pioneers. The employers almost invariably led the way. Every industry from railroads down to barber shops is so organized under working agreements that competition is in practice abandoned.

In September, 1885, representatives of some local trade unions met together in Indianapolis and organized the Indiana Federation of Trade and Labor Unions, later known as the State Federation of Labor. This is claimed to be the oldest state federation of labor in the United States. In a substantial way this organization corresponds to the State Agricultural society, the State Medical society, the State Bar association or the State Teachers' association. This organization through its legislative council has exerted a steady pressure on the General Assembly and the political parties for the betterment of labor conditions generally.¹³

In 1881 a law was passed limiting a day's work in cotton and woolen factories to ten hours for all persons under eighteen.¹⁴ In 1879 and 1881 the General Assembly provided for a mine inspector to examine

¹³ R. W. VanValer *The Indiana State Federation of Labor*. The purpose of the organization is shown in the president's address.

"We have met here, then, to exert our efforts towards the amelioration of the conditions of all who labor, to bring about something like an equitable distribution of the wealth produced by labor; to shorten the hours of labor; to protect not only our rights as citizens, but to protect ourselves in life and limb in the various occupations which we are allotted to pursue." p. 4.

¹⁴ *Laws of Indiana*, 1881, ch. XXXVII, Sec. 215.

scales, and see that all the provisions of a searching law governing mining, passed in 1879, were carried out.¹⁴ In 1897, this statute was broadened to include all manufacturing establishments. The same statute forbade the employment in such places of children under fourteen. The provisions of this law were to be enforced by a state factory inspector appointed by the governor.¹⁵

The question of the liability of employers for injury received by employees in the prosecution of their work has been before the legislature and the courts for many years. The courts had worked out an elaborate theory that all accidents were due to the negligence of some one. If the workman had contributed in any way the employer was not considered liable. Two laws were enacted by the General Assembly of 1911 on this subject. The first made the employer liable for all accidents unless the latter could prove himself innocent of any negligence. The second statute of this same year specified the duties

¹⁴ *Laws of Indiana*, 1879, ch. X; 1881, ch. V.

¹⁵ *Laws of Indiana*, 1897 ch. LXV. This law is specific and rather drastic in the sense that most of its provisions should have been complied with by all manufacturers without legal compulsion. For a discussion of factory inspection in Indiana see manuscript by Charles E. Reed, ch. III, see also, S. W. Shaefer, *Protective Labor Legislation in Indiana*, ch. III.

"About 1890, the Eastern Coast States began to make and enforce their labor laws and factory acts, thus driving the cheap labor inland. About the same time, gas began to be used for fuel in factories in Indiana. These together with the fact that Indiana is located at the meeting point of the fuel and the raw material for many industries caused a great movement of factories into this state. Our legislators recognized the need of a comprehensive system of labor laws and from that time, until the present, scarcely a legislature has met that has not added some needful statute to the labor acts." p. 23.

An excellent article on this subject is "Industrial Accidents in Indiana" by J. Harold Warner.

of employers in the matter of safe-guarding dangerous machinery or places in or about the shops.

These acts not fully meeting the needs of the situation, two commissions were provided for by the Assembly of 1913. The first of these was a commission of five, appointed by the governor, "to investigate the hours and conditions of the labor of women." The second commission consisted of five persons appointed by the governor, was "to make inquiry, examination and investigation into the making of the law in the state of Indiana relative to the liability of employers to employees for industrial accidents."¹⁷

The following General Assembly by an act entitled "The Workmen's Compensation Act" required all employers of labor either to insure all employees against accidental injury or forego the defense of contributory negligence by the employee or his associates or assumption of risk of accident by employee. An industrial board, appointed by the governor, was created whose duty it was to assess damage and thus save expense of litigation. This board assumed all

¹⁷ Governor's Message, *House Journal*, 1913, p. 27

"Of recent years, manufacturers have sought to avoid responsibility for injury by taking out casualty insurance. At least sixty per cent of the premiums paid go to the profit of the casualty company. This system has totally failed, both from the economic and the moral viewpoints. It has become a mere game of chance in which all the legal technicalities of the law are taken advantage of to prevent payment of damages. It has failed morally because it has built up a miserable class of ambulance chasers, who bring suits upon the hope of compromise, and of expert witnesses, who testify in accordance with their employment. The greed of this class robs the injured employee or his family of the damages even when received. The intricacies of modern manufacturing demand of the state that it take steps to protect itself from the liability to support those who are disabled and the families of those whose lives are snuffed out. The state has a right for its own protection, if for no other reason, to declare for compulsory compensation."

the duties of the previous state bureau of inspection.¹⁰

The settlement of difficulties between employers and employees continues after a half century of legislation to be the storm center in the industrial world. Both parties recognize the insufficiency of the strike and lockout. The General Assembly of 1897 provided for a labor commission of two members appointed by the governor. One of these appointees is selected from the laboring class and one from the capitalist class. The commissioners, with the assistance of the circuit court judge, call the interested parties into council and after due examination render a decision which, if the parties have previously agreed to arbitrate, is binding; if the parties have not agreed to arbitrate, then the commission investigates the cause of the trouble and reports to the governor, who publishes the report, trusting to public opinion to cure the evil. The commission has power to arbitrate a dispute only when such power is conceded by the parties.¹¹

§ 192 PROTECTION OF WOMEN

The advent of women into the wage-earning class has complicated the problem greatly. Employment, sanitation and pay were the important elements so long as men only were concerned. In the case of women to these are added the question of morals, overwork and racial effects.

The questions raised by the employment of women in industry, like so many others now attracting legislative attention, have arisen since the Civil war.

¹⁰ *Laws of Indiana*, 1915, ch. CVI. The statutes mentioned above are only the more important ones enacted on this subject in recent years.

¹¹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1897, ch. LXXXVIII. The General Assemblies of 1903, 1905 and 1907 enacted legislation governing the mining industry.

Previous to that date, with the exception of a few cotton and woolen mills, no factories employed women. In 1910 there were over 20,000 women employed regularly as wage-earners. It must not be supposed in this connection that women had never previously performed any labor in Indiana. The pioneer women did more work than any class of persons in the state, but comparatively little of this was done until they were grown up. Their children were born before the mother's strength was wasted in the excessive toil incident to pioneer home life. The women employed in the factories are as a rule unmarried and what the effect will be on home life or on the children born afterward is not known. What is feared is that bad results will follow the withdrawal of 20,000 young women of the more ambitious class from the ordinary functions of the home.

Most of the women wage-earners are employed in textile mills, laundries, retail stores, teaching and in clerical work. Only a few employers in Indiana are so unresponsive to public opinion and common decency as to allow their desire for gain to cause them to impose on female employees. The department stores, the offices, the cotton and woolen mills, the clothing factories and the laundries are as a rule equipped so that the work is more attractive than ordinary house work.²⁰ Nevertheless certain regulations governing sanitation, hours of labor, age, and equipment are laid down in the statutes and enforced by the bureau of inspection. The question of wages has not been settled. That the average shop girl is underpaid is conceded and this has been alleged as an inducement to vice. The Progressive and Socialist parties have injected these questions into politics,

²⁰ For an example see description of Kahn Tailoring Co. shops at Indianapolis by E. R. Mullins, *Employers' Welfare Work*.

much to the disgust of the professional politicians, who much prefer to discuss the tariff, the money question or our foreign policy.

§ 193 HEALTH AND SANITATION

The work in this field has been carried on under the lead of the medical profession and the charities. The General Assembly of 1881 created the state board of health, to be composed of five members appointed for four year terms by the governor. The executive officer is a secretary chosen by this board. The board takes control of any situation threatening the general health of the community. In co-operation with the state board are the county, city and town boards of health. Every physician is required to report concerning cases of sickness, births and deaths coming in the field of his practice. Especially do the state and local boards investigate water supplies and sewage disposals of the cities and towns. A state laboratory of hygiene is operated at the capital where samples of milk, water, blood or any other material of this nature may be sent for examination. The present secretary, Dr. J. N. Hurty, has been especially active in promoting the health of the state. A large amount of data, including birth, marriage and death records, are collected and published in the annual reports of the secretary.²¹

The General Assembly of 1907 enacted a pure

²¹ *Laws of Indiana, 1881, ch. XIX*. "The State Board of Health shall have the general supervision of the interests of the health and life of the citizens of this state. They shall especially study the vital statistics of this state, and endeavor to make intelligent and profitable use of the collected records of deaths and of sickness among the people; they shall make sanitary investigations and inquiries respecting the causes of disease, and especially of epidemics, the causes of mortality, and the effects of localities, employments, conditions, agents, habits and circumstances on the health of the people." pp. 37-38.

food and drug act, the enforcement of which through a food and drug commissioner, was placed in the hands of the state board of health. This statute was directed especially at adulteration, misbranding, mixing or offering for sale unsanitary food products and drugs.²¹ In 1911 the conduct of cold storage plants, dairies, and creameries was brought within its jurisdiction.

During the first decade of the present century a public interest became manifest in the housing conditions in the larger cities of the state. Dr. U. G. Weatherly and Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon were among the best known investigators. The agitation aroused public opinion to such an extent that the General Assembly of 1913 passed a housing law laying down definite rules and limits according to which all tenements should be built. Courts, yards, windows, stairways, closets, plumbing, sewer connection, fire escapes, cellars—in short, all the details were described and specified. The enforcement of the law was given to the state board of health, to whom the builder of a tenement must exhibit plans and specifications and get approval.²² Improvement in the housing conditions is slow and, doubtless, for years

²¹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1907, ch. CIV.

²² *Laws of Indiana*, 1913, ch. CIL. In *Indiana University Studies*, 1910, is a report by L. M. Campbell Adams on a survey of Indianapolis. In *Charities*, December, 1908, p. 376, is an article by Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon, which has had more to do, perhaps, than any single published account with creating a public demand for improvement. Her conclusions, which are very conservative, are as follows:

"There are more slums and worse slums in the state than we had expected. There are more tenements than we believed. The number of families in the tenements varies, but the usual Indiana tenement contains two families, many less than those in New York and Chicago. The alley and stable dwellings, the hovels, the shacks, the detached, unsanitary dwellings, constitute one of the worse features of our problem." 377.

unsightly, unhealthful shacks will continue to bear their monthly tribute to greedy landlords at the expense of public health and decency.

The General Assembly of 1911 gave the state board of health supervisory power over the schools. New buildings were required to conform to certain standards and old ones either remodeled or abandoned. A section of this statute also required the subject of hygiene to be taught in the public schools.²⁴ A statute by this same Assembly authorized a medical inspection annually of all school children. Trustees were empowered to hire a physician for this purpose, though no part of the law was made compulsory.²⁵

The General Assembly of 1911 established, under the supervision of the food and drug commissioner, a bureau of weights and measures. The standards adopted by congress in 1836 were made those of Indiana and a force of deputies provided to see that all merchants used weights and measures certified by the officers and bearing the state inspector's seal.²⁶

Enough has been written to show that the state is fully awake to the importance of a liberal policy of sanitation in the interest of public health. There is

²⁴ *Laws of Indiana*, 1911, ch. 72. This was more drastic by the amendment of March 14, 1913.

²⁵ *Laws of Indiana*, 1911, ch. 200, Sec. 2. "The term, medical inspection, as used in this act, shall be held to mean the testing of the sight and hearing of school children and the inspection of said children by school physicians for disease, disabilities, decayed teeth or other defects, which may reduce efficiency or tend to prevent their receiving the full benefits of school work." 485.

²⁶ *Laws of Indiana*, 1911 ch. 263. This law was amended March 10, 1913, so that all large counties, population over 50,000, should have an inspector and that all goods be sold by count, weight or in original packages showing exact weight or count.

manifest impatience with the slowness of the progress but a remarkable change has been made since 1850.

§ 194 TRANSPORTATION

There have been in Indiana history three periods, characterized by the building of transportation facilities. The first of these was in the thirties when our canal system was under construction. The second came in the fifties when our railroad system was laid down. The last has come since 1900. It is an attempt to provide some cheaper, more mobile, and more popular method than the steam railroad.

Street railways in Indiana began with an act, dated June 4, 1861, providing for the incorporation of street railway companies. Under this law a company of Indianapolis men was incorporated, June 5, 1863, and received a franchise from the city, October 19, 1863; this company refused the conditions of the charter, however, and an eastern company, January 18, 1864, accepted a franchise, stipulating that cars should be running in Indianapolis by October 1, 1864. From this beginning not only the Indianapolis street railway has developed but systems have been constructed in all the larger cities.²⁷

Charles L. Henry, then owner of the Anderson street railway, conceived the idea of extending the street car lines of a city to its neighboring cities, making the road not a city but an interurban line. The idea found favor, after awhile, with capitalists and on January 1, 1900, the Indianapolis, Columbus and Southern interurban opened its tracks from Indianapolis to Greenwood. Three new roads, the Indianapolis and Cincinnati, the Indianapolis and Plainfield, and the Indianapolis and Martinsville, were opened out of the capital in 1902. The construction of interurbans was carried on rapidly during

²⁷ Albert L. Habb, *Indiana Street Railway*.

the decade ending 1910, but since then nothing further has been done. The total mileage now is 2,083 miles with 114 miles of siding.⁴⁰

It is generally conceded that the interurban has failed to solve the question of local transportation. Hauling to the road and delivery from the terminal station make it necessary to handle freight at least four times.

Since 1888 Elwood Haynes, then of Portland, now of Kokomo, had been experimenting with an automatic wagon which should use an electric storage battery for its motor power. By July 4, 1894, this wagon was so far perfected that it ran several miles on the highway at a speed of six or eight miles per hour. In 1897 a four-passenger car was constructed with a two-cylinder engine, which attained a speed of twenty miles. The automobile industry has resulted.⁴¹

The successful operation of the automobile depends largely on a good, solid road. The farmers of the state are looking confidently to the automobile and the solid pike for a solution of the transportation problem. On a good road an ordinary auto truck will haul three to five tons at the rate of fifteen to twenty miles per hour, picking up the freight in the field and delivering it to the final destination, but its usefulness depends on having a level, solid road.

The movement for better roads began with the gravel and macadamizing road law of 1885.⁴² This law made it possible for a majority of the land owners within two miles of a proposed pike to compel the county commissioners to improve it, taxing the

⁴⁰ *State Auditor's Report, 1916*. This includes street railways, since they are all owned by the same companies. Charles B. Austin, *Interurban Railways in Indiana*.

⁴¹ Charity Dye, *Some Torch Bearers in Indiana*, 154.

⁴² *Laws of Indiana, 1885*, ch. LVII.

cost upon all lands within two miles, as the viewers should determine. The law was amended March 4, 1893, so that the county commissioners became a board of turnpike commissioners with power to hire an expert road builder to take charge of the county road building and repair. Scarcely a General Assembly before or since but has changed the road law; but there is being made a serious effort to find the best method of making county roads and apply it in the state. The national government is now assisting both with advice and money in an effort to construct a system of military and post roads uniting all sections of the state. At the close of the year 1915 there were 30,088 miles of gravel road in the state for which there were bonds outstanding to the amount of \$37,300,825; nearly twenty millions of which have been issued since 1910. This, together with the enormous amount of money invested in automobiles no doubt largely accounts for the fact that no railroad or interurban tracks have been laid recently.⁴¹

⁴¹ The best volume on roads of Indiana is the *State Geologist's Report*, for 1906, by W. S. Blatchley and assistants. Determined attempts have been made to place road-building in the hands of a state commission, but so far this has not been accomplished. Much money has been mispent in road building and the opposition to a state commission has come principally from road and bridge building companies.

CHAPTER XXXVI

POPULISTS, SOCIALISTS AND PROGRESSIVES

§ 195 POPULISTS

The period of the nineties was characterized politically by the activity of the Populists. So far as the old parties in Indiana were concerned the campaign of 1892 was little more than a repetition of that of 1888. The tariff issue continued to divide the voters. The two leading candidates, Harrison and Cleveland, were for the second and third time, respectively, before the people. Both were conservative on all financial and industrial questions. There was much, both of literature and oratory, concerning the Mill's bill, the Wilson bill and the McKinley bill, the first two Democratic and the last a Republican tariff bill. While they are passed over hurriedly as not peculiar to Indiana history, yet it must not be forgotten that they, the tariff, were the principal political subjects of thought and discussion in the state. Thousands of people during the period between 1880 and 1896 in every county of the state listened patiently if not interestedly, while speakers unburdened themselves of tariff platitudes. The newspapers, day after day, or week after week, in editorial, special article, or "patent inside" brought their contributions to aid the people in coming to a conclusion on the subject; but in spite of all this contribution and controversy the voters of Indiana remained, as they were in 1880, about equally divided on the question.

Meanwhile the condition of farmers and laboring men became gradually worse. They despaired of aid from either a high or a low tariff and began to seek

relief in other directions. During the twenty years following 1873 agricultural conditions were not satisfactory. The average price of wheat from 1878 to 1883 was \$1 11; from 1883 to 1888 it was 81c, and in 1893 and 1894, 40c wheat was not unknown. The price of first-class beef cattle in 1884 was above 60, in 1889 it was below 4c. All farm product prices showed the same steady decline. On the other hand, interest on borrowed money remained firm at 6 and 8 per cent. and money became steadily more difficult to borrow. The price of land went down and down, but the price of bank stock did not drag. The demonetization of silver in 1873 and the Bland-Allison Silver bill of 1878 were said to be gradually contracting the currency and the bankers, hand in glove with the federal government, were reaping their harvests. As land and its products depreciated money and its earnings appreciated.

On such reasoning and on such facts was the great agricultural and industrial movement known as Populism predicated.

Since, as it appeared, there was a working agreement between wealth and the government, it became necessary for the people to reclaim their government, take over the regulation of railroads, telegraph and telephone lines and oust the wealthy interests from the judiciary and the legislatures. So in the nineties there was added a political program to the industrial program of the seventies. Beginning with 1890 one reads of demands by political organizations for the popular election of United States senators, for referendums on proposed legislation, for some means of freeing judges from corrupt influences. Australian ballot systems, corrupt practices acts, prevention of indirect bribery by giving railroad passes to legislators and judges, prevention of the corruption of the sources of public information, non-partisan civil

service and a general examination of business methods were among the things advocated.

As the contest approached, true to their instincts, the American people began to organize for the battle. Nowhere was this done more than in Indiana, though the struggle, as usual, was not as ill-humored in Indiana as in some other states. The General Assembly of the state has always been reasonably responsive to public opinion and, while often slower than many people desired, has in only a few cases had to recede from advanced positions once taken.

The Grangers had maintained their organizations and, while not directly interested in politics, lent their powerful support to the movement, especially favoring governmental control of transportation.¹

There were in the United States in 1889 at least a dozen farmers' organizations, only two of which, however, were strong in Indiana. These were the Grangers and the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association. The Patrons of Industry, also, had a number of

¹ *Proceedings of Indiana State Grange, 1893, p. 27.*

2. *Resolved*, That as heretofore, we favor the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

3. *Resolved*, That we favor the passage by Congress of a Pure Food bill.

4. *Resolved*, That we favor the immediate passage of an Anti-Option law, and that we pledge ourselves not to support any candidate for representative, state or national, who will not promise to use his influence and vote for an effective Anti-Option bill.

5. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of female suffrage.

9. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of legal arbitration in settling differences between employer and employee.

10. *Resolved*, That we are opposed to taxing only lands for the purpose of building roads.

16. *Resolved*, That we favor repeal of the law authorizing county commissioners to order special elections for voting subsidies to corporations.

organizations in the state. The agricultural reports of 1890 give one hundred and sixty non-secret organizations of farmers in the state. The standing topic of conversation and discussion at these meetings, aside from the professional program, was the industrial and political situation.

The common basis of all their discussions was the platform laid down by the farmers' and laborers' convention, technically called the Southern Alliance and the Knights of Labor, at Saint Louis in 1889. This platform, the creed of the Populist party, demanded the abolition of national banks and grain speculation, free and unlimited coinage of silver, prevention of alien or corporation ownership of land and government control or ownership of railroads. The Northern Alliance, composed of farmers and laborers, adopted a similar platform, including among its demands an income tax, a reduction of the tariff on necessities, a Panama canal, and an Australian ballot law, and pledged its political support to such candidates, in either party, as favored its principles. By 1891 these organizations had given up hope of relief through either of the old parties and in convention at Omaha decided to put out a national ticket in 1892.

In 1890 there was considerable political activity on the part of the F. M. B. A. and the Knights of Labor. County tickets were nominated in many places and other tickets endorsed and repudiated.* In many places farmers' stores and elevators were organized. The party seemed to be attracting Democrats more than Republicans. It is perhaps near the fact to say the farmers' organizations were injuring

* For Daviess county see *Indianapolis Journal*, June 8, 1890; for Fort Wayne, *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 12; for Vincennes, see *Indianapolis Journal*, July 10. These are typical.

the Democratic party most and the labor organizations, the Republicans.

On June 19, 1890, a convention of representatives of the Farmers' Alliance, F. M. B. A., the Grange and other orders met in the rooms of the state board of agriculture at Indianapolis. Although called for the purpose of forming a state league, uniting these bodies, it really was a political convention. It decided to advise the members to take an active part in local politics, acting for the present within the old parties.^a A platform of political principles similar to the St. Louis declaration was adopted. It was, politically, a Populist meeting, declaring for free coinage, direct election of senators, a just rate of interest, that public printing should be let to the lowest bidder, and for woman suffrage.

Although the politicians administered every known sedative, the movement would not quiet down. September 23, 1890, found representatives of the same class again in Indianapolis forming the People's party of Indiana. In its platform these delegates stated the political questions that were to confront Indiana voters for two decades. Not all the platform of course was original. A searching examination of the state government was to be made in the interests of economy and good business; child labor was to be outlawed, bonuses to corporations by cities or counties were to be abolished, soldiers were to receive a *per diem* pension, experts were to be employed in the civil service, school books were to be furnished by the state, non-partisan boards were to

^a *Indiana State Journal*, June 25, 1890, p. 3.

It was further resolved that when the leading political parties failed to nominate men identified by occupations and education with the farmers, "We deem it our duty and pledge ourselves to nominate such men independently and will strive by all honorable means to secure their election."

manage state institutions, and a great many other specific demands were made.

At the following election the People's ticket polled 17,354 votes, the Prohibitionists, 12,006, the Republicans, 214,702, the Democrats, 233,881.

The election brought no cessation in political activity. On the following November 20, the Farmers' Alliance, 80 delegates, representing 400 lodges, and 15,000 members, renewed their demands in the form of resolutions for the General Assembly. It was a state program largely.* There is not space here to follow up the movement in detail, but the state, county and township governments, political methods of parties and officers, and the secret influences that controlled them were all studied carefully. The result was a political reformation and reorganization which is still going on.

May 27, 1892, representatives of the People's party from 72 counties of the state met at Indianapolis and formulated a program and nominated a state ticket. A state central committee was named and a vigorous campaign planned.

It seemed and now seems strange that a political party in Indiana at that time should have almost nothing to say on the tariff, but the farmers, during this whole period, disregarded that issue, treating it as entirely secondary. It was from this attitude there came a demand for a tariff board and the withdrawal of the subject from party politics.[†]

* *Documentary Journal*, 1890, I, 220, *State Journal*, Nov. 19, 1890.

† *State Journal*, Nov. 26, 1890.

‡ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, May 28, 1892. As a sample of the sentiment back of the Populist party at this time the following preamble to the national platform, written by Ignatius Donnelly, is interesting

"The conditions which surround us justify our cooperation. We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral,



DEMOCRATS, REPUBLICANS, PROHIBITIONISTS, POPULISTS
(Election of 1892)

The election of 1892 in Indiana was contested principally by General Harrison for re-election and Grover Cleveland also for re-election, the latter carrying the state by a plurality of 7,125. Claude Matthews, Democrat, defeated Ira J. Chase, Republican, for governor by a plurality of 6,978. Leroy Templeton, Populist candidate for governor, received 22,017 votes, and the Prohibitionists polled 12,960, eleven of the thirteen congressmen elected were Democrats.¹

Before the election of 1894 was held the state was in the midst of the worst financial depression it had ever known. Factories were closed, strikes became more and more prevalent, interspersed with boycotts and lockouts. Farm produce sank in price to the lowest level in our history. All but a few of the railroads went into the hands of receivers and a large majority of all the banks suspended.

The off year election of 1894 reflected the panic. The party in power was overwhelmed by the then unprecedented majority in Indiana of 44,773 votes on the state ticket. The Prohibitionists and Populists about held their own, the former polling 11,144 votes, the latter 29,935. The Republicans secured 81 of the

political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot box, the legislatures, congress and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized. The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, our homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self protection; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a hireling standing army unrecognized by our own laws is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed two great classes—tramps and millionaires.”

¹ *Indiana State Journal*, Nov. 20, 1892.

100 state representatives, 30 of the 50 senators, and elected for the first time since party lines were closely formed in the state a solid party delegation to congress.* The party landslide indicated not so much a change in party affiliation as it did the deep distress of the people and the demoralization of the Democratic party.

The campaign of 1896 was an attempt by the politicians to account for the hard times. The Republicans insisted that the Democratic tariff was the cause and the remedy they offered was a high tariff. William McKinley was therefore their candidate for the presidency. The Democrats were just as confident that the low tariff was not the trouble, but that what was needed was a greater amount of currency. They thus joined the Populist party in a demand for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one.

The Republicans began, after W. J. Bryan was nominated on a "free-silver" platform, a systematic campaign of education, backed up by every art known to party managers. A press bureau and a speakers' bureau, furnished with ample funds, sent literature and speakers into every section of the state. Lists of voters were prepared with thousands of names, indicating nationality, church affiliations, and party. To each voter was sent the literature, the speakers or the person that might induce him to vote the Republican ticket. A group of young Republicans, among whom were James E. Watson, Albert J. Beveridge, J. Frank Hanly, John W. Griffith, E. D. Crumpacker, C. W. Fairbanks and a score of others, dispensed such eloquence as had not been heard in the state since 1840 and 1844. Above them all in the fascination of his oratory and his power to attract audiences was the Democratic candidate for the presidency. The

* *Indiana State Journal*, Nov. 21, 1894.

result appeared extremely doubtful. The Democrats were weakened by the withdrawal of the "sound money" faction, while thousands of Republicans were impressed with the argument for more money. The Republican issues were better presented, the campaign more ably organized and managed and, above all, more amply financed and at the polls that party was successful by a plurality of 18,622 and a majority of 10,992. James A. Mount, Republican candidate for governor, a distinguished farmer and Granger, was elected by a plurality of 26,058 over B. F. Shively, of South Bend, a former Greenbacker, showing the value of Mr. Mount's affiliation with the farmers. While by far the larger portion of the Populists supported the Democratic ticket, a so-called "Middle-of-the-Road" Populist ticket polled 7,664 votes.* The election marked the culmination of the Populist movement. By the end of the decade it had disappeared as a political party of strength, though the issues it raised remained for the Republicans and Democrats to settle. It had done a good work, but it lost its identity in the fusion of 1896 and died, as all third parties have done in similar instances."

For twelve years following 1896 the Republicans controlled Indiana, carrying the elections by substantial majorities. The political interests of the people were generally attracted to national questions. The protective tariff policy was unchallenged. Business revived, prosperity was everywhere and in 1900 and 1904 thousands of Democrats did not take enough interest in the election to go to the polls. No third party arose to threaten seriously the repose of the old parties. In 1900 Col. W. T. Durbin defeated John Kern, the Democratic candidate for governor, by 25,-

* *Indiana State Journal*, Nov. 18, 1896.

¹⁰ "Populism in Indiana," by E. D. Stewart, *Man.*



DEMOCRATS, REPUBLICANS, PROHIBITIONISTS, SOCIALISTS
(Election of 1904)

259, the Prohibitionists casting 13,453 votes, the Populists 1,504, the Social Labor 644, the Social Democrats 2,239.¹¹

In 1904 J. Frank Hanly, Republican, was elected over John W. Kern, Democrat, for governor, by a plurality of 84,364, Roosevelt carrying the state by 93,944 votes. The Prohibitionists increased their vote at this time to 22,690, the Populists received 2,065, the Socialists, 10,991, and the Social Labor party, 1,437.¹²

§ 196 SOCIALISTS

Socialism has never received much support at the polls in Indiana, but owing to the close division of the voters between the two principal parties, considerable attention has been given to its demands. Socialism has been strongest in Indianapolis and Terre Haute, not so strong in numbers as in the character and reputation of its leaders.

The Socialist movement is almost a century old but it never attracted much political attention in Indiana until the beginning of 1897 when Eugene V. Debs, an organizer and leader of the railroad employees, joined the party. It was his hope at that time to affiliate the American Railway Union with the Socialist party. March 6, 1900, the Social Democratic party met in national convention at Indianapolis. Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman, both natives of Indiana, were nominated for president and vice-president. Mr. Debs at first declined but was later induced to take the nomination.¹³

The party in general stood for public ownership of the soil and all the elements of the production of

¹¹ *Indiana State Journal*, Nov. 21, 1900.

¹² *Documentary Journal*, 1904, I, Sec. of State, 334.

¹³ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 10 and 11, 1900; Morris Hillquit, *Socialism in the United States*, 232.

wealth except labor. More attention was given to the organization of the party at this time than to its platform. Each delegate had the proxy of the members he represented and voted in the convention according to the number of Socialists in good standing which he represented.¹⁴ All revenues of the party were to be raised by assessment on the members. Contributions from other sources were not acceptable. As noted above, their combined strength in 1900 was only 3,000.

There was a division of the party at first but at a convention in Indianapolis, June 29, 1901, these factions were united into the one Socialist party.

The platform of Socialism is not usually changed by the ordinary nominating convention as in other parties. The party is built up more on the plan of a church. Creeds or planks in its platform are usually adopted by referendum. For this reason there has never been entire harmony among Socialists on a detailed program. They are united only on the plan to transform the ownership of the means of production and distribution from private to public hands, and thus destroy capitalism. This is the one controlling purpose of the party at present.

This great goal they do not hope to reach until the body of workingmen is in better mental and material condition. As a means to this they advocated first the public ownership of the means of transportation and public utilities; reduction of hours of

¹⁴ Ora E. Cox, "The Socialist Party in Indiana," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XII, 101-103. "The management of the Socialist party of Indiana shall be administered by its officers, an executive committee, a state committee, locals and branches, party conventions, and general vote of the membership. The officers and committees of this organization shall consist of a Chairman, State Secretary-Treasurer, Woman Correspondent, Executive Committee of five members and a proper quota of National Committeemen."

labor, leaving more opportunity for reading and self-improvement; state insurance; public industries for those out of employment, state aid for school children in the way of books, clothing and food; equality of the sexes politically; initiative, referendum, and recall of representatives. This platform has been supported with consistency since the Indianapolis convention of 1901.¹⁴

The growth of the party by years is indicated by the following votes: In 1902 the vote was 7,111; in 1904 it was 12,013; that of 1906 was 7,824; in 1908 it was 13,476; of 1910 was 19,632; of 1912 was 36,931; of 1914 was 24,563; of 1916 was 23,514. Only a few local officers have been elected by the party but its influence has been noticeable in all the elections in Indiana since 1900.¹⁵

§ 197 PROGRESSIVES

Numerically the strongest third party ever organized in Indiana was the Progressive. Its platform was largely national and its history belongs to the wider field of national politics. The party was made up of Republican insurgents and a small number of Democrats. These men were out of patience with the slow progress of the Republican party and its apparent indifference to social conditions. The first serious factional struggle came up in congress over the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill. In that struggle the western Republicans found themselves in opposition to those from the east. The laboring classes, principally, constituted the revolt though no divisive lines can be drawn to which there are not numerous excep-

¹⁴ Hilquett, *Socialism in the United States*, 236 and 350. The literature of Socialism is too extensive to refer to here by individual title. Any public library contains a number of volumes.

¹⁵ The best discussion of the Socialist party in Indiana is by Orr Eden Cox, in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XII, 95-120.

tions. There was a widespread impression among all parties that during the long regime of the Republican party the capitalists had secured too many governmental favors. Progressives spoke of some mysterious, invisible power controlling the government in the interest of capitalists. This power was said to be encroaching on the public domain, securing for itself property and privileges meant for the public. A program of conservation of natural resources occupied a prominent place in Progressive thought. Their plan of social betterment included such humanitarian demands as an anti-child labor law, an eight-hour law for women workers, higher wages for shop girls, workmen's compensation, and vocational education. In the way of governmental reform the party demanded the referendum, initiative, recall, popular election of United States senators, a corrupt practices act, woman suffrage, a constitutional convention for Indiana, home rule for cities, competitive selection for civil service, federal regulation of all interstate business, and prohibition of the liquor traffic.

None of the planks of the platform were original and many were common to at least two or more other parties in the state. Obviously the platform itself did not contain the whole reason for the existence of the third party. The principal reason, it seems, must be sought in the feeling that the two old parties could not be trusted to carry out the programs they endorsed. This feeling was expressed time and again by Progressive speakers.¹⁷ The old parties, it was claimed, were subservient to their leaders, popularly called "bosses," so that neither was able to carry out its own platform.

¹⁷ See Roosevelt's Address to the Progressive National convention, Speech of Beveridge at the same place; or Beveridge at Indianapolis, Sept. 7, 1912.

From an educational standpoint the campaign of 1912 in Indiana was one of the best ever known. Its conduct, though earnest and sometimes personal, was on a high plane. The speeches of Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt and W. H. Taft, candidates for the presidency respectively of the Democratic, Progressive and Republican parties; of Samuel M. Ralston, Albert J. Beveridge and Col. W. T. Durbin, their respective candidates for governor, were listened to and read by thousands who for years had paid little attention to politics. Teachers, preachers, reformers, literary men, agitators of all kinds threw themselves into the great revival. Some had political sense, some only enthusiasm, but it made little difference. The people were thoroughly aroused and since then many of the changes advocated by the Progressives have been put into practice, though that party was defeated in the election. No election in our history has clarified the political atmosphere so much as that of 1912. Not only did the politicians look to their ways, but the people learned that many an honest servant in the government had been misrepresented by the "muckrakers." The fault was just as much with the people, who had neglected their government, as with the officers, both of parties and state, who had neglected the people. In the years following 1912 there was a much healthier public opinion. A few of the real political criminals were ostracised and the others were given definite instructions for their future labors. In this lies the compensation for such political revolutions as that of 1912.

The Democrats carried the state by a large plurality, receiving on the presidential ticket 281,890 votes, the Progressives 162,007, the Republicans 151,267, the Prohibitionists 19,249, and the Socialists 40,061. While Wilson ran 119,883 ahead of his nearest competitor, he still lacked 86,291 of a majority.

Mr. Balston was elected governor by a vote of 275,357 over Mr. Beveridge with 166,124 votes and Colonel Durban with 142,850.¹⁰ A solid Democratic delegation of congressmen was elected for the first and only time in the state's history.

That the chief grounds for the formation of the Progressive party were in party management and personal rivalries was shown in its subsequent history. The Republican party divided almost in the middle in 1912, but on fundamental policies there was general agreement, much more than between either wing and the Democratic party. For that reason the party rapidly reunited after 1912. In 1914 the Progressive ticket polled 108,581 votes for Mr. Beveridge for United States senator, as against 226,766 for Hugh Th. Miller, the Republican candidate, and 272,249 for B. F. Shively, the Democrat, and in 1916 it practically disappeared. A cursory glance at the election statistics will show from what party the Progressives came and whither they returned, leaving, as all the third parties have, a larger and larger independent vote in the state.

The campaign of 1916 started with the primary election held March 7. This was the first state primary and politicians watched its results with keen interest. The preliminary campaign among the Republicans had been waged with energy, especially were the contests between James P. Goodrich and Warren T. McCray for the gubernatorial nomination and that between Harry S. New and James E. Watson for the United States senatorial nomination spirited. The Democratic nominations of J. A. M. Adair for governor and B. F. Shively for re-election as senator were not seriously contested, though Leonard Clore for governor received a substantial vote.

¹⁰ *Official Report, Sec. of State, 1916.*

The results of the Republican primary favored Governor Goodrich and Captain New, however. A short time later the death of Senator Shively necessitated the election of a successor for which the Republicans nominated James E. Watson and the Democrats Thomas Taggart. J. Frank Hanly was nominated on the Progressive ticket but when it was ascertained that that party was not supporting him he withdrew.

The Republicans in national convention at Chicago, June 8, nominated Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana for the vice-presidency and the Democrats at St. Louis one week later extended a like recognition to Thomas R. Marshall, thus making it certain that an Indianian would be vice-president.

The great problem of the campaign was the former Progressive vote. The state platforms of the two old parties covered substantially the demands of the former Progressives, except the initiative and referendum, and as the campaign wore along most of the Progressives returned whence they came and the campaign settled down to the tariff and the foreign policy of the national government.

The state issues were the calling of a constitutional convention, woman suffrage, prohibition and a new tax law. The contest was close but the result showed small Republican pluralities on both state and national tickets. On the national ticket the Republicans received 341,005 votes, the Democrats 334,063, the Progressives 3,898, the Prohibitionists 16,368, and the combined Socialists 23,514. The Republican candidates for United States senators, and on the state ticket were all elected by larger pluralities, Governor Goodrich leading with 337,831 votes or a plurality of 12,771. Indiana thus filled out its century almost equally divided politically. Governor Goodrich's plurality was far less than two per cent. of all the voters and yet in Indiana it was counted

an emphatic victory, carrying the General Assembly and nine of the thirteen congressmen.²²

There was considerable dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war and this had to be borne by the party in power. The Republicans virtually repudiated their governor and the Democrats their president. Since the war overshadowed everything else, the Democrats had to bear the heavy burden. In 1918 the Republicans elected a solid delegation to congress and carried the state by a plurality of near 50,000.

The presidential year of 1920 again found the Republican party united. In the primary, May 4, 1920, Gen. Leonard Wood carried the state by a small plurality over Hiram Johnson, Warren G. Harding being fourth and last in a field of four. Warren T. McCray won the nomination for the governorship over James W. Fesler and Edward Toner. The Democrats nominated Carlton B. McCulloch. James E. Watson, Republican, and Thomas Taggart, Democrat, were the candidates for the U. S. senate.

The campaign was without distinctive state issues. The Republicans centered their attack on President Wilson and the League of Nations. The ebb after the war had set in and the Democrats were caught in the undertow. The state went Republican by the unprecedented plurality of 185,006 on the na-

²² This chapter has been written from the newspapers, from campaign documents, from a great number of political speeches in pamphlet form, from a few collected works and biographies and some personal recollections. The safest guide, it seems, is the concurrent testimony of three or four newspapers of different politics. The most dangerous materials are personal reminiscences and political speeches. What we need most in Indiana, for our political history, are collections of the speeches of our leading men. Such collections as we have were selected rather to build up a reputation for the subject than to illustrate the history of the times or give a fair impression of the man.

tional and 168,000 on the state ticket. The congressional delegation remained solidly Republican and the General Assembly was almost so.

§ 198 POLITICAL PROGRESS

The Sim Coy forgeries, the Dudley letter and the conduct of national committeemen in Indiana during the seventies and eighties aroused the people to a sense of the dangers they were in. It was doubtful if the verdict at the polls on election day even approximated the wish of the voters. By the method of voting then in use any one might easily know how any one else voted. For this reason it was felt there was a lack of independence, especially was intimidation practiced among employees. With this experience in mind the General Assembly of 1889 enacted the present Australian Ballot law under which the state now holds its elections. The one purpose of the long law is to preserve secrecy of the ballot. If the law is honestly administered there is no possible way for any one to know how or for whom any individual has voted.*

Previous to 1915, for twenty-five years, there had been insistent demand for a primary election law. It was urged that it availed little to be able to cast an honest ballot at the election if you were required to choose between two rascals of equal notoriety. All parties had come to favor a primary election law and the General Assembly of 1915 mustered courage sufficient to enact the law. The statute provides for a state-wide primary election, to be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in March on election years. At this primary election the committeemen and other party officers are to be elected, besides

* *Laws of Indiana, 1889, ch. LXXXVII.* It is a long statute of sixty-seven sections, but one may see the essential parts of it posted near the voting booths on election day.

candidates for president, vice-president, governor, United States senator, congressmen, members of the state legislature, judges, county and township officers; also delegates to the national and state conventions. Practically the same precautions, pains and penalties for violation are attached as to the election laws.²¹

During this period, from 1870 to 1910, it was a common opinion throughout the United States that public, official morality was at a low ebb. Grafting, a term appropriated to the special duty of conveying the idea of official peculation, was thought to be the common thing in township, town, city, county, state and nation. The muck raking magazines featured this kind of news. The penitentiaries received a goodly number of public officers overtaken by the law in their dishonesty. In an attempt to end this period of low moral pressure, the General Assembly of 1909 enacted the Public Accounting law. A state board of accountants, consisting of the governor, auditor and a state examiner, appointed by the governor, was constituted, whose business it is to prescribe uniform methods of bookkeeping throughout the state and then by means of two deputy examiners and as many field examiners as the board deems necessary, to see that the offices of the state from governor down to township justice of the peace are administered honestly.²²

In an effort to improve further the morale of the officeholders the General Assembly of 1911 enacted the Corrupt Practices law. The purpose was to elim-

²¹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1915, ch. CV. First and second choice candidates are designated. Platforms are made at conventions by delegates chosen at the primary.

²² *Laws of Indiana*, 1909, ch. LV. The law has had a sobering effect on office holders. The culprits frequently escape through the connivance of friends on the bench or in the prosecutor's office.

inate from the election, and from the campaign preceding the election, all influences that hinder a fair expression of the popular will. Solicitation of campaign funds was prohibited and a careful account was required of all money used in the campaign."

Finally the General Assembly of 1917 provided for calling a constitutional convention, enfranchised women, so far as it could under the constitution, and enacted a state-wide prohibition law. How far the supreme court will hinder the program remains to be seen. The act calling a constitutional convention has been set aside as unconstitutional, and on October 26, 1917, the court continued its attack by holding the Woman Suffrage act invalid.

²⁰ *Laws of Indiana, 1911, ch. CXXI.*

CHAPTER XXXVII

MILITARY HISTORY SINCE THE CIVIL WAR

§ 199 AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

During the Civil war practically all the able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were connected with the militia. As noted in Chapter XXVI, during the latter half of 1863 all such men were ordered to close their places of business or quit their ordinary work for a few hours each afternoon, and join the training camps. No accurate records of these men were kept. It was the duty of the captains to keep a roster of the men and report to their superior officers, but hundreds of captains neglected to comply. Along the southern border the regiments of the Loyal Legion were often called to arms to repel actual or threatened invasion, and during Morgan's raid about 65,000 men from all parts of the state were under arms. Records of these men were kept and most all returned, at least to the paymaster. But in the great majority of cases the soldiers who enlisted had first been members of the home guards or Loyal Legion though no official records of such service have been preserved.¹ As soon

¹ In the case of the Fifth regiment, Indiana Legion, the records were kept for nearly fifty years in the home of their colonel, Charles Fournier, but finally were destroyed by fire when his house was burned. The Valleen Guards without organization and without written orders from anyone joined in the pursuit of Hines and Morgan. When the pursuit was over they returned directly home. No official records were kept at that time. These cases are merely typical.

as the war closed, all interest in the militia ceased. The men had had more than enough of war. For four or five years what little activity remained was confined to perfecting the individual records of the volunteers. Many men were at home on furlough when the war closed, others were so anxious to get home that they deserted their regiments and returned and so were marked deserters when the regiment was mustered out. Every effort was made by the government, both national and state, to find these men and discharge them honorably. The task was not easy because many of them feared they would be punished for desertion, and as no payment of money was due them, they saw no reason why they should take any risk in securing a piece of paper which had no apparent value.

There were many thousands of home guards who had spent several days chasing Hines and Morgan and felt there was some pay due them, which the government was prepared to pay if proper vouchers and certificates could be had from the commanding officers.

Another long list of soldiers was returned as "missing." Some had deserted, some had died in battle, some in remote, improvised hospitals, and many in rebel prisons, justice to whom and their families required that the facts be ascertained and the record completed. A large number of soldiers availed themselves of the provisions of the Homestead law, many of whom required the assistance of the adjutant general in perfecting their claims.

Aside from this clerical work there was no military activity in the state. No official report was made by the adjutants general after the Civil war till 1870. The state had at that time about enough arms and ammunition to equip two regiments. The small arms consisted of 1,579 rifled Springfield muskets,

500 Enfield rifles and 716 carbines. The thirteen six-pounder cannons had been loaned out to cities to fire salutes. There were organized in 1870 four companies of guards, but they were not strictly state militia, though the state loaned them guns with which to drill.¹ During the next two years thirteen independent rifle companies organized and received arms from the state, but no attempt to organize the militia was made.²

§ 200 MILITIA AND STRIKERS

During the seventies there was considerable trouble in Indiana between employers and laborers. On several occasions the governor found it necessary to send state troops to preserve the peace. The first instance seems to have been at Knightsville and Brazil.

Trouble arose when, February 20, 1873, the coal operators of the Brazil field formed an organization and reduced the price of mining coal to \$1.00 per ton, whereupon the miners quit. The operators imported colored miners and proceeded to work. On the evening of April 15, some drunk miners attacked the colored men and in a short time the village of Knightsville was in terror. From Knightsville the trouble

¹ *Report of Adjutant General, 1870.*

² *Report of Adjutant General, 1872.* "The militia of this state is wholly unorganized, and it has not been deemed expedient to attempt the organization of any part of the militia under the present defective law upon the subject. The most of the states of the union, as in Indiana, have a militia law, and it is, with one or two exceptions, in all the states inoperative. The principal defect appears to be the want of compulsory measures to enforce service, and next they all fail in the most essential feature, in that they do not provide for adequate compensation of those upon whom duties are imposed by the law. Whether it would be wise for the General Assembly to inquire into the expediency of a new and effective militia law, I leave that body to determine."

spread to Brazil. Governor Hendricks, on appeal from the civil authorities of Clay county, sent what few soldiers he could find, the Emmet guards under Captain Barry and General Dan Macaulay, with a detachment of Indianapolis police. These reached the scene of the rioting at 5 o'clock a. m., April 16. Order was soon restored.⁴

About the first of December, 1873, the Pennsylvania railroad cut the wages of its employees ten per cent. and the engineers and firemen went out on a strike. There was trouble on all lines in the state belonging to that company but the most threatening was in Logansport, a division headquarters and the location of the company's shops. About noon, December 27, the sheriff of Cass county telegraphed the governor that the mob was rapidly getting beyond control. Because Indianapolis was full of strikers and their sympathizers, a detachment of troops composed of the College guards and the Emmet guards under the command of General Macaulay entrained at the Massachusetts Avenue station. They were only sixty-six in number but experienced no difficulty in keeping order in Logansport; in fact there was little disorder there aside from that caused by a few drunken men.⁵ A small force was also dispatched during the year to Wayne county where the chronic courthouse fight had developed more than the usual amount of friction.

In 1874, October 19, a company of 100 men with a Gatling gun, was sent to Porter county to enforce the law. The trouble arose over the demand of the Baltimore, Pittsburgh and Chicago railroad to cross the tracks of the Michigan Central at Miller's station. Having lost its case in the courts, the Michigan Central stationed a double line of freight cars across

⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, April 16, 17 and 18, 1873.

⁵ *Indianapolis Journal*, December 29, 1873.

the tracks of the Baltimore, Pittsburgh and Chicago at the intersection and garrisoned the fortification with 500 workmen, mostly Swedes, from the shops at Niles and Michigan City. Capt. T. B. Wightman, of the Indiana guards, placed his Gatling gun on a platform car ahead of the locomotive on the Baltimore road and moved on the works of the mob. The workmen stood bravely behind the freight cars, "armed with clubs and villainous looks" until they were surrounded and captured. The sheriff then took charge, the workmen returned home and the soldiers to Indianapolis.*

During the summer of 1876 there was a threat of serious disturbance on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. Strikers interrupted the freight service at different times, defying the civil authorities. At one time the situation at Vincennes was such that the county sheriff asked aid from the governor. There being no troops available companies from Logansport, Peru, and Indianapolis were ordered to rendezvous at the capital. By the time the expedition was ready the situation in Knox county was such that the troops were not sent.⁷

The repeated calls for state troops to enforce the peace caused the new adjutant general in 1877 to try

* *Report of Adjutant General, 1874, Indianapolis Journal, Oct. 23, 1874.*

⁷ *Report of Adjutant General, 1876.* "The routine of office business remains about the same as in former years. Applications from all parts of the United States, where Indiana soldiers have emigrated, are daily received for certified copies of their records to supply the place of lost discharges. Many of the counties in this state are still paying local bounties to volunteers, and certificates of enlistments and credits are almost daily demanded by the applicants or by county authorities." p. 4.

⁸ *Adjutant General's Report, 1878; Indianapolis Sentinel, April 27, 1878, Indianapolis Journal, April 20, 1878; Terre Haute Gazette, April 26, 1878.*

to put the service on a better footing. He, accordingly, during the year, organized twenty-three companies which he enrolled in the Indiana Legion. Throughout the entire year of 1877 the laborers were restless. All the important railroads of the state at one time or another were tied up. In July, 1877, it seemed that serious rioting could not be avoided. All the independent military companies in the state were placed under arms and held in constant readiness. The Montgomery guards, of Crawfordsville, under Gen. Lew Wallace, marched to the capital and tendered their services to the governor. A call for volunteers was issued by the governor under which eleven companies at Indianapolis were organized by Gen. Dan Macaulay. Fortunately, these companies were commanded by men who had seen service in the Civil war and no collision took place with the strikers. The strikers on their part conducted themselves with commendable moderation.

More serious difficulty arose at Coal Creek, in Fountain county. For a year or so preceding April, 1878, the mine owners in the Coal Creek neighborhood had been running their mines with cheap colored labor. The former miners, most of whom lived in the neighborhood, had quit on a strike. An armed truce had been in existence during the time. In November, 1877, a military company had been organized, partly among the strikers and armed from the state arsenal. On the evening of April 18, after the militia had been training, a number of the soldiers stopped in a saloon to drink. A fight followed in which three negroes were killed, and a large number driven from their homes. Adjutant General George W. Russ arrived, April 19, and soon had affairs in hand. Severe criticism was made of the policy of the state arming volunteer companies over whom it had no control. Thirty-seven of the strikers at Coal

Creek who had joined the military company the adjutant general dismissed. The trouble was chronic in this vicinity, however, and June 19, following, the Indianapolis Light infantry and the Lane guards of Crawfordsville had to be sent to preserve order, remaining there on patrol duty till July 3.*

These experiences made it clear to the state government that it needed a better militia system, if it were to preserve order by that means. Yet at this time nothing was done to meet the difficulty. There were in existence during the time from twenty to fifty independent military companies. Many good companies disbanded on account of the expense necessary in renting and caring for armories, all of which expense had to be borne by the companies and usually by the officers.

§ 201 THE NEW LEGION

Although a law of 1881 attempted the reorganization of the state military forces little was ever accomplished under it. In 1889 it was amended so that forty-eight companies of the Indiana Legion might be organized and armed. The Legion was defined as the active militia, those men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, physically fit, who had subscribed to an oath of allegiance to the state. The members of these organized companies were examined by the adjutant general and when once mustered in were subject to strict discipline. Arms and equipments were supplied by the state and the soldiers were required to meet and drill at least once every two weeks. A state encampment of not more than a week's duration was provided for at the expense of the state. Twelve companies were placed together to make a regiment, there thus being four full regi-

* *Adjutant General's Report, 1878.*

ments in the New Legion.⁹ The annual encampments came to be events of considerable importance. The same drill regulations were used as in the regular army and many of the companies reached a good degree of efficiency in military maneuvers. It was confidently reported by the officers in charge that under this system in five years the state would have at its disposal or subject to its call 6,000 men who had had some military training.

§ 202 THE NATIONAL GUARD

The General Assembly of 1895 again rewrote the militia law. The active militia, consisting of all the able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five who should enroll, was divided into forty-eight companies of infantry, three batteries, one signal corps, one hospital corps, and one band for each regiment. This state army was rechristened the National guard. A military fund was set aside sufficient to arm and equip this body of troops and provide for an annual encampment of six days. The organization was similar to that of the Legion. The companies might be enlarged to seventy-two privates, making the total National guard somewhat larger than the Legion had been.¹⁰ The law of 1895 is much more elaborate than that of 1889, having been worked out in detail by officers of the militia in consultation with similar officers in other states. Brigadier General W. J. McKee, then in command of the Legion, also prepared a volume of rules and regulations for the use of all guardsmen.¹¹

As stated above, a company was composed of from forty to seventy-two privates, a captain, first and second lieutenants, five sergeants, four corporals

⁹ *Laws of Indiana, 1889, ch. CLXXVII.*

¹⁰ *Laws of Indiana, 1895, ch. LIII.*

¹¹ *Adjutant General's Report, 1895-6, p. 6.*

and a company clerk. Half a company was called a platoon. Four companies constituted a battalion, three battalions a regiment and the entire guard, ordinarily four regiments, a brigade. The highest officer under the governor was the brigadier general, appointed by the governor. The governor also appointed an adjutant general, a quartermaster general, a brigadier general with a staff consisting of an assistant adjutant general, assistant inspector general, chief medical officer, quartermaster, commissary, judge advocate, signal and engineer officers, chief of ordnance, three aides-de-camp; a personal staff who were honorary members of the guard; a regimental staff, a colonel and lieutenant colonel for each regiment, and a major for each battalion. There were also brigade, regimental, and battalion staffs, with corresponding non-commissioned staffs for each. Uniforms, drill, physical examinations and most other regulations and activities were made to correspond as nearly as possible to those of similar grade in the regular army. It was a great step in advance and there was a corresponding interest shown throughout the state. The adjutant general, in his report for 1895, stated that he could easily have organized fifty more companies.

§ 203 SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

The National guard had no more than time for sufficient drill until it was called into national service. At the beginning of 1898 there were forty-one companies of infantry and three batteries in condition for active service. They numbered officers, rank and file, 2,822. As the national horizon became clouded in the spring of 1898, the officers of the guard were instructed to recruit their companies to maximum strength.

On the 19th of April, 1898, congress passed reso-

itions of intervention in the struggle between Spain and her colony, Cuba. The formal declaration of war followed, April 25. On April 23, President McKinley called for 125,000 volunteers for two years. On the evening of the 25th the governor of Indiana received a telegram from the secretary of war calling for Indiana's quota.¹¹ Governor Mount's proclamation was issued the same day calling for volunteers and ordering the Indiana National guard to report without delay at the state fairgrounds in Indianapolis. Since hundreds were offering to go, where only scores could be accepted, the governor directed that no member of the National guard would be compelled to enlist for the war.¹²

At five o'clock on the morning of April 25, telegrams were sent to all captains of companies in the

¹¹ *Record of Indiana Volunteers in Spanish-American War*, 6. "The Governor of Indiana, Indianapolis, Ind.:

The number of troops from your state under the call of the President, dated April 23, 1898, will be four (4) regiments of Infantry and two (2) light batteries of artillery. It is the wish of the President that the regiments of the National Guard or state militia shall be used as far as their numbers will permit, for the reason that they are armed, equipped and drilled. Please wire as early as possible what equipments, ammunition, arms, blankets, tents, etc., you will require."

¹² *Record of Indiana Volunteers*, p. 9.

"Whereas, The President of the United States, in pursuance of an act of Congress, has issued a proclamation calling for 125,000 volunteers, of which number four regiments, approximating 1,000 men each, and two batteries, have been apportioned to the State of Indiana. Inasmuch as the number of men who are at this time tendering their services is far in excess of requirements, I deem it timely to announce in this connection that there will be no compulsion upon any member of the Indiana National Guard to enter the federal service, except upon his own free will and accord. Any member of the National Guard whose business affairs would be jeopardized or whose domestic relations would subject his family to inconvenience and hardship will be permitted to stand aside honorably and without prejudice."

guard and all the companies were in camp on the fairgrounds before night. On the 25th and 26th seven new companies were accepted into the guard to make it complete. Some of these companies had organized as soon as they ascertained there would be an opportunity for active service.

It was decided to continue the serial number of Indiana regiments. There had been five in the Mexican war, and 152 in the Civil war. The first one mustered into service for the Spanish-American war thus became the One Hundred Fifty Seventh. This was the Third of the guard, under Col. Willis T. May. The Second guard regiment became the One Hundred Fifty-Eighth, under Col. Harry B. Smith; the First guard, under Col. John T. Barnett, became the One Hundred Fifty-Ninth, and the Fourth, under Col. George W. Gunder, became the One Hundred Sixtieth. The first two of these regiments and Battery A of the guard, which became the Twenty-Seventh light battery, and Battery E of the guard which became the Twenty-Eighth battery of Indiana volunteers, were mustered into United States service, May 10, and on the 15th and 16th of May left for the general mobilization camp at Chickamauga Park. The One Hundred Sixtieth left for Chickamauga Park on May 16, but the One Hundred Fifty-Ninth, having given all its arms to the other regiments, had to wait till May 23 for arms, when it was sent to Dunn Loring, Virginia.

These troops had scarcely vacated their camp at the fairgrounds of Indianapolis before the president issued a call, dated May 25, 1898, for 75,000 more volunteers. It was not till June 18 that the order came from the department of war asking Indiana to furnish enough recruits to fill to the maximum the four regiments already in the field, to furnish two new companies of infantry, and one entire regiment

of infantry. The two companies mentioned above were to be recruited from among the colored men. A company of engineers and one for the signal service were also ordered from the state. The two colored companies, designated First and Second separate companies, Indiana volunteers, colored, were mustered in, July 15, but did not leave for Fort Thomas, Kentucky, until September, and reached Chickamauga, October 8.

The company of engineers became company D of the Second United States engineers. After service at Fort Sheridan, Illinois, and at Montauk Point, they arrived at Havana early in November where they took an active part in helping Col. Leonard Wood put that city in sanitary condition. The signal service men became the Fourteenth signal corps company. They left for Washington, July 7, and from there went to Jacksonville, July 31, where they were mustered out.

Fortunately, just as the Indiana troops were getting to the front the war came to a close. The One Hundred Fifty-Seventh had arrived at Tampa and had their horses and baggage already on transports when a protocol was signed. The One Hundred Fifty-Eighth was yet at Chickamauga; the One Hundred Fifty-Ninth reached its mobilization camp in Virginia; the One Hundred Sixtieth was at Newport News under orders for Porto Rico; the One Hundred Sixty-First, under Col. Winfield T. Durbin, was at Camp Mount, the Indiana state fairgrounds. The last two regiments, however, were ordered to Cuba, largely for police duty, where they remained until March, 1899.

The Twenty-Seventh battery was on the battle line when the war ended but had not fired a hostile shot. It embarked from Newport News for Porto Rico, arriving August 4, whence it proceeded to

Guayama, August 13. The Twenty-Eighth battery did not go further than Chickamauga.

The state had acquitted itself very well in the emergency. Its troops were ready to march on call. The hospital and medical service broke down completely, though that was not the fault of the state. Typhoid and malaria fevers raged in the southern camps while these and yellow fever did the deadly work at the front. Out of a total number of 7,420 troops sent to the war from the state, seventy-three died of disease and forty deserted. Realizing that the national government was unable to care for the returning sick soldiers, the state provided a hospital at Camp Mount, where a large number of sick men, 264, were cared for until they were able to return home.¹⁴ By the end of the year all the soldiers had returned to their homes except the two regiments in Cuba and the two colored companies which were mustered out at Chickamauga, January 20, 1899.¹⁵

The experience gained in the Spanish American war led to a greater emphasis on actual drilling. Accordingly the law of March 12, 1901, provided for regular drill one or more nights per week and at least three full days of target practice on the rifle

¹⁴ *Report of Adjutant General*, 1899, p. 78: "This completes a service unique of its kind. Indiana has the proud distinction of being the only state in the union that took upon itself the sole provision for the care of its sick soldiers returning in great numbers and in dire need from the Spanish-American war. Without waiting for the dictation or the sanction of the general government at Washington, Indiana, at the instance of its governor, anticipating the great emergency of suffering incident to the return of large numbers of very sick men from far distant camp hospitals in the great heat of summer, took the initiative and was in complete readiness with hospital equipment, surgeons and nurses, to care for the sick soldiers upon their arrival." p. 79.

¹⁵ *Record of Indiana Volunteers in the Spanish-American War 1898-1899*, by Adjutant General James K. Gora.

range each year. Provision was also made for paying the troops a small amount for time actually spent in camp, or in drilling.

It was necessary, of course, as soon as the war was over to reorganize the guard. All the old guardsmen were mustered out of service on their return from the war, leaving no troops in the service of the state. The new guard was begun with an attempt to organize one company in each congressional district. This plan was given up in August, 1899, and companies accepted wherever found.

During the year 1903 the guard mobilized at West Point, Kentucky, September 30, where it took part with the regular army in a ten days' maneuver. During the same year, July 6, company E was called to Evansville to guard a prisoner and was forced to fire on a mob, killing nine and wounding others.¹⁴

No serious duties beyond being called out occasionally to preserve or assist in preserving the peace devolved on the National guard between the Spanish-American war and the close of President Taft's administration when the Mexican situation became threatening. However, from time to time, changes were made in the organization, duties and pay of the guardsmen. In 1905 a higher rate of payment was provided for; in 1907 an armory board was established with power to provide state armories wherever it thought expedient. An act of congress, January 21, 1903, organized the militia of the several states participating in the distribution of the annual appropriation under the law of 1792 into the United States militia, popularly known as the National

¹⁴ *Adjutant General's Report, 1904*. 10. Full descriptions of the work at the annual training camp are given; also detailed reports of all the officers engaged in the "campaigns" around West Point. Full maps and plans of attack are included in the latter.

guard. This guard was to be organized and be under the rules laid down in the *Rules and Articles of War* for the regular troops of the United States. The purpose was to prepare a reserve force that could readily be called into service when more than the regular army was needed. Effort was made to do away with all rules and regulations peculiar to any state. The Indiana guard fell in line with this reform as rapidly as possible, although there was shown considerable reluctance by some in what seemed a surrender of this function of the state government to the national.¹⁷ Finally the General Assembly of 1915 repealed all militia laws in force and in a short statute of one section placed the organization of the state guard in the hands of the governor and his staff, subject only to a compliance in general with the military tactics of the United States and to a maximum requirement of forty-eight companies of infantry, four batteries, four troops of cavalry, one company of engineers, a signal corps, a hospital corps, an ambulance corps, and what other enlisted persons were deemed necessary.¹⁸

§ 204 ON THE MEXICAN BORDER

Early in the spring of 1911 the regular army engaged in maneuvers on the Mexican border, at which twenty officers of the state guard were present. The reports of these officers indicate that they were realizing some of the actualities of a soldier's life.¹⁹ The long contest between the factional leaders in Mexico, the raids and counter raids of Madero, Huerta, Carranza, Gonzales, Zapata, and Villa, especially when they came near our borders, kept the members of the

¹⁷ *Laws of United States*, 57th Congress, Session II, ch. 196.

¹⁸ *Laws of Indiana*, 1915, ch. 128. In emergency the governor can call all the able bodied men of the state into the service.

¹⁹ *Adjutant General's Report*, 1911, p. 94, seq.

Indiana guard on the alert. President Wilson seemed uncertain and adopted the safe policy of "watchful waiting."

Men began to talk of military training. No one acknowledged any immediate expectation of serious war yet the feeling hovered in the atmosphere that the nation was standing with folded arms unsteadily on the edge. In different parts of Indiana during the summer of 1915 there was a desire expressed that the United States establish a training camp at Indianapolis.²⁰ The question of military training was discussed by school boards and at faculty meetings in colleges, many advocating it in both colleges and high schools.

Part of this interest was due to a state pride, seriously wounded by a recent examination by United States officers of companies of the state guard resulting in the dismissal of some entire companies for not being up to standard. In fact, so many companies were disbanded on this account that the annual brigade encampment had to be abandoned because only two full regiments remained. The result of this reorganization, as it was termed, was the dismissal of many of the field and staff officers. The guard, accordingly, in July, 1915, assembled at Fort Harrison by regiments and limited its training to company and battalion drills and target practice. A touch of the practical and a prophecy of the near future were noticed in the eagerness with which the guardsmen engaged in skirmish and battle drill and especially in trench warfare as exemplified in the European war.²¹ The anomaly of the situation was the widespread interest in military training and the poor condition of the Indiana National guard, as well as that of the

²⁰ *Indianapolis News*, Oct. 11, 1915.

²¹ *Indianapolis News*, July 31, 1915, p. 15; also the *American Review of Reviews*, LII, 404.

regular army. So noticeable was this feature of the situation that "preparedness" came to be an issue in the political campaign then approaching. One party, (not political) typified by Colonel Roosevelt, insisted that the way to be secure in the world and keep out of war was to be armed and prepared. The other party, typified by Colonel Bryan, insisted with equal vigor that that was precisely the way to get into war and that the way to keep out was to avoid all appearance of things military. Meanwhile the year passed by with no great apparent improvement in the condition of the guard.

Early in the year 1916 the raid of Villa on Columbus, New Mexico, made it apparent that serious trouble was ahead. General Pershing crossed the Mexican border in pursuit of Villa, while the country wondered whether it was war or not. As the weeks passed the danger diminished. A conference on the border seemed to straighten out somewhat the tangled skein and men turned to the darker cloud looming up in the direction of Germany.

In the meantime it was determined to hold a civilian training camp at Fort Benjamin Harrison some time during the summer of 1916. April 27, Col. D. A. Frederick, of the regular army, arrived at the fort and began to arrange the field for the training which was to take place simultaneously with the annual maneuvers of the Indiana National guard.²² The people then settled down to a rather academic discussion of the general question of what the nation should do in the matter of military preparedness.

Without any warning, on June 18, 1916, the secretary of war announced that the President had decided to mobilize immediately, the entire National guard

²² *Indianapolis Star*, April 28, 1916. The training camps were abandoned June 20, when the National guard was called out; *Indianapolis Star*, June 20, 1916.

on the Mexican border. The call stated that it had no relation to General Pershing's expedition, though people could not help observing that that expedition had just returned across the border. The call further stated that the guardsmen would be mobilized at their respective capitals and sent to the border just as fast as General Frederic Funston could take care of them."

The Indiana National guard at the time consisted of 2,367 line and 170 officers, organized in two full regiments and twelve separate companies. The companies assembled at their local armories on the following Monday, June 19. New companies were organized in a number of cities and recruiting for the regular army became active. The first companies of the guard began to arrive at Fort Benjamin Harrison, June 23, where they were joined by their comrades on the 24th. The first real war thrill the citizens of Indiana had had since the Civil war was when they gathered by tens of thousands to see the various companies leave for the mobilization camp. Enough new companies were organized to complete the Third guard regiment and thus Indiana was given a full brigade. By Sunday night, June 25, 1916, the Indiana National guard was in camp waiting the call of the nation.

June 26, Capt. Charles D. Herron, of the regular army, was appointed brigadier general to command the Indiana troops. Under him, Leslie R. Naftzger, of Indianapolis, was appointed colonel of the First guards; Thomas R. Coulter, of Vincennes, colonel of the Second; and Aubrey D. Kuhlman, of Auburn, colonel of the Third. The release of Captain Herron from service in the regular army could not be secured and in his stead Lieut. Col. Edward M. Lewis was appointed by the governor and his release secured.

²² Indianapolis Star, June 19, 1916.

By July 6 three batteries were ready for the front and on that day left in three special trains of fifteen coaches each for the Rio Grande. The tension of feeling, however, had been relieved by what was believed to be a settlement of the difficulty with Mexico. Although the whole movement from this period on began to be regarded as a training trip, yet there was no lack of interest. On July 7, the Third regiment left; the Second, July 10; and the First left, July 11. Everything had been carried out satisfactorily, though there had been no great speed shown; in fact, none was needed. The troops were called into camp, June 24, and could have been rushed to the front the next day had occasion demanded. With the guardsmen on the border and the civilian training camp called off the people turned their attention to the presidential election. The newspapers, however, contained ample news of the Indiana soldiers on the border.

Many of the guardsmen were students and a larger number were married men whose families needed their assistance at home. With the understanding prevalent that there would be no conflict in Mexico and with no knowledge of any other motive for the training in camp, there came a general demand for the return of the National guard. Accordingly, on the 7th of September, 15,000 guardsmen were ordered mustered out; also all companies composed of students were ordered out that they might return to college. Severe criticism was directed to the latter part of this order by the newspapers of the state. It was pointed out that the students were particularly free from responsibility, and of all the members of the guard they were the ones least needed at home. Yet more criticism and murmuring were caused as the weeks passed after this order had been given and no apparent effort was made to mus-

ter them out. Especially was this the case as election day approached.²⁴ Hundreds of petitions were sent to the war department asking the discharge of individual soldiers, until on November 12, the secretary of war issued general instructions that no more guardsmen would be mustered out or discharged except for the good of the service.²⁵ It was announced also that the stay on the Rio Grande would be protracted indefinitely. Hardly had this order been published until announcement came from the war department that the Third regiment would be mustered out at once, but it was not done.

On the 24th of November, 1916, a protocol was signed by agents of the United States and Mexico providing for the immediate withdrawal of the American troops from Mexico. Three days later it was announced again that the Third regiment would be sent at once to Fort Benjamin Harrison, where it arrived December 8. December 18, the artillery and signal corps units received orders to break camp on the border. January 21, the Second regiment received orders to return. It had left Indianapolis July 10.

As soon as the election was over it became common knowledge that the attempt to make an army out of the National guard was a disappointment. The attempt to recruit the regular army up to its maximum strength also failed. Suggestions of universal military training appeared. It was said and not denied that the President favored such a system as Switzerland had. Colonel Roosevelt insisted that the nation must arm or go in the class with China. Ex-President Taft urged drafting an army outright as the best way

²⁴ *Indianapolis Star*, Nov. 2, 1916: "It would be futile now to inquire into the procrastination that deprives the soldiers of their votes." Many states permitted their soldiers to vote in the field.

²⁵ *Indianapolis Star*, Nov. 12, 1916.

of expressing the spirit of democracy in military affairs. Harry S. New, senator-elect, expressed himself, February 28, in favor of universal military training. The sentiment in Indiana favored some energetic measures for arming and preparing the nation.* December 19, Secretary of War Baker appeared before a committee of congress and advocated a form of compulsory military training. There was considerable feeling displayed in this argument by those who maintained that a democracy should not compel any one to do anything against his will. Of one thing all were convinced, that the National guard would never become a national army so long as it was on a volunteer basis.

§ 205 WAR WITH GERMANY

The soldiers had scarcely returned from the Mexican border and been mustered out when the relations with Germany became acute. It had long been known that war was imminent between the two nations, but the people had in a measure settled down to the conviction that whatever happened the worst would be an interchange of diplomatic notes. January 22, 1917, the President appeared in the senate chamber at Washington and read an address apparently on world peace. Close upon this pacific effort, in fact so close that it seems impossible for the President to have been ignorant of it at the time, came the startling announcement by Germany that the submarine warfare would be extended to all the seven seas, wherever English, French, or Italian commerce was carried. The shock at once broke our relations with Germany. February 2, the President again appeared before congress and virtually demanded a declaration of war against offending power. Congress, however, took no action until called in special session.

* *Indianapolis Star*, Dec. 10, 1916.

The president addressed the two houses of congress in joint session, April 2, and on April 6, resolutions of war received his signature. These events prepared public opinion in Indiana for the military activity which followed. Nothing could be done immediately, but to recruit again the National guard. While congress wrestled with the army bill, the country marked time. On the 18th of May, congress finally agreed on the terms of the army conscription bill, fixing the age limits at 21 and 30, both inclusive.²² The president's proclamation followed on May 19, fixing June 5 as registration day.

The law provided that one officer should be appointed for each voting precinct, who, on the appointed day, should enroll all men between the given ages, who presented themselves. A heavy penalty, one year's imprisonment, was fixed for those who failed to enroll. The president was permitted to use the state and local officers as far as possible for this work.

As soon as it was ascertained that war with Germany must come, Governor Goodrich issued a call, April 3, for a conference of leading farmers, grain dealers, cannery and county agents to take steps to produce the largest possible crops during the approaching season.²³ At the meeting, April 5, a special committee was appointed to urge increased farm production. There were twelve members of the committee, each to devote his attention to one product. Herbert C. Hoover was appointed national director of food supplies and he in turn chose G. I. Christie to direct the farm work in Indiana. Meetings were

²² *Official Bulletin*, May 19, 1917.

²³ *Indianapolis Star*, April 4, 1917. "In the face of the greatest shortage in the food supply this country has ever known, we are preparing to enter the European conflict. Indiana will send its quota of men, it must furnish more than its quota of food."

held in each county, where local boards were organized, usually under the supervision of the county agent. In the towns and cities every one, who could, was urged to plant a garden. Owners of vacant lots gave them rent free to any one who would cultivate them. Patriotic meetings were held in all sections. The Red Cross began to enlist help and raise money; the National guard units of the state were quickly reorganized, ambulance corps were organized and almost over night the state became busy with the preparations for the conflict.

April 11, it was announced that the army would organize training camps on the Plattsburg plan for the instruction of field and line officers of the new national army. This plan necessarily had to await the action of congress but it was favored by everybody.

April 18, Secretary of War Baker issued the order to establish fourteen citizen training camps where reserve officers and prospective officers for the drafted army were to be trained. The camp for Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky was located at Fort Benjamin Harrison.²² Applicants were directed to report May 1, and training began May 8. The attendance was fixed at 2,500. Col. Edwin F. Glenn was detailed to take charge of the school.

On June 4, 1917, a call for volunteers for a second citizens' military training camp was issued. This session began August 27 and closed November 29. There had been 160,000 applications in eighteen days for the first camps but the response for the second was not so general, partly due to a misunderstanding that only men above the draft age would be received.²³ July 13, the secretary of war announced the draft allotments to the states. Of the total number,

²² *Indianapolis Star*, April 19, 1917.

²³ *Official Bulletin*, July 6, 1917.

687,000, Indiana was allotted 17,510. The result of the registration, June 5, in Indiana was a list of 257,311 available men. Of these 1,149 were unnaturalized Germans. The registration was 100.6 per cent. of the census estimate for the state.²² July 19, the president promulgated the rules for the selective draft;²³ the order of Provost Marshall General Crowder set September 1 as the date on which the mobilization of the national army should begin. The first civilian training camp at Fort Benjamin Harrison closed on August 15, on which date Adjutant General Harry McCain ordered the men from Indiana and Kentucky to be notified of their individual appointments. A list of these is given in the *Official Bulletin* for August 9.

A supplementary registration, August 24, 1918, gave 24,015 who had come of age since June, 1917. The third draft, September 12, 1918, including all others between the ages of 18 and 45, gave 354,812, making a grand total of 626,138 in the draft.

It was realized that the withdrawal of so many men from active employment would seriously embarrass factories and farms. The Council of National Defense as an effort to meet this need asked that training camps be established where boys too young for military service might be taught to do different kinds of work. Governor Goodrich in response to this appeal and a resolution of the Indiana state council proclaimed the week from August 6 to August 12 as a period of special enrollment in the Boys' Working Reserve. A speaking campaign was organized to cover the state and explain the movement to the people.²⁴

²² *Official Bulletin*, June 25, 1917.

²³ *Official Bulletin*, July 29, 1917. This gives the rules and the order of serial numbers in which the men were called.

²⁴ *Official Bulletin*, August 13, 1917. "I appeal to the virile young manhood of Indiana with the thought that every American

The official machinery for selecting and examining the men for the national army was perfected as rapidly as possible. The district appeal boards, of which Indiana had four, were announced August 15. Each board was composed of five men who heard appeals in exemption cases from county or city boards.²² The directions for mobilization were issued, August 16, and on August 21, the secretary of war ordered the 17,510 men chosen from Indiana for the national army to be mobilized at Fort Zachary Taylor, at Louisville, Kentucky, with the troops from southern Illinois and Kentucky, 41,880 in all. On the first of September the Indiana guard was ordered to mobilize at Camp Shelby, Hattiesburg, Mississippi; except the First Indiana Field artillery, which was ordered to Camp Mills, on Long Island, preparatory to leaving with the Rainbow division for France.

The army organization for the over seas service was radically changed. A full regiment numbered 3,755 men, divided as follows: Headquarters officers

boy at work opposes a boy in Germany, and in all seriousness remind him that he is facing a man's job, the burdens, hardships, and sacrifices of which will increase as the war lengthens. To the parent I would say that this enrollment is for non-military service, that it will not interfere with the boy's education if he attends school, nor will it disturb him in his occupation if he is already employed, and that inasmuch as your written request for his furlough or discharge must be immediately granted, he is still amenable to parental control. To the people of the State of Indiana I most heartily recommend the work of this reserve as a permanent contribution to our economic forces and express the desire that the service to the state and nation rendered by these boys should be regarded by the public as just as useful and patriotic within the limits of the opportunity afforded as the service rendered by the soldiers in the trenches. In that spirit you should lend your co-operation." The governor's proclamation.

²² *Official Bulletin*, Aug. 15, 1917. The divisions are here given, the counties of each division and the members of each board.

and company, 308; three battalions of four rifle companies each, 3,078; one supply company, 140; one machine gun company, 178, one medical detachment, 56. A rifle or infantry company consisted of 250 men and 6 officers. The company was made up of two officers, 22 section bombers and rifle grenadiers, two sections of riflemen of 12 men each, and one section of auto riflemen, 11 men and 4 guns. A machine gun company was composed of 6 officers and 172 men with 12 regular guns and 4 spare guns. For transportation and camp purposes the regiment was provided with 22 combat wagons, 16 rolling kitchens, 22 baggage and ration wagons, 16 ration carts, 15 water carts, 3 medical carts, 24 machine gun carts, 59 riding horses, 8 riding mules, 332 draft mules, 2 motorcycles with sidecars, 1 motor car, and 42 bicycles. Aside from the usual equipment of guns, bayonets, and pistols, the regiment had 440 trench knives (40 to each company), 192 automatic rifles (16 to the company), and 3 one-pounder cannons. The headquarters company consisted of one staff section of 36 men, one orderlies section of 29 men, one band section of 28 men, one signal platoon of 77 men, one sappers and bombers platoon of 43 men, one pioneer platoon of 55 men, and one one-pounder cannon platoon of 33 men.

The division was made up of one division headquarters, 164 men; one battalion (4 companies) of machine-guns, 768 men; two infantry brigades composed, each, of 2 regiments and 3 machine-gun companies, 16,420 men; one field artillery brigade composed of 3 field artillery regiments and one trench-mortar battery, 5,068 men; one field signal battalion, 262 men; one regiment of engineers, 1,666 men; headquarters and military police, 337 men; ammunition train, 962 men, supply train, 472 men; engineer train, 84 men; four field hospital companies and four ambu-

lance companies, 949 men. The total for the division was 27,152 men under a major general."

Work on the control of food and fuel was begun as soon as it was ascertained that war was inevitable. The Indiana public utilities commission tried with only indifferent success to regulate the coal supply. After numerous conferences with coal mine operators and dealers the matter was referred to the national government. By presidential proclamation, August 21, the price of coal at the mines was fixed, for Indiana coal, at \$1.95 per ton for run of the mine, \$2.20 for screened coal, and \$1.70 for slack. On the 30th of August the price of wheat was fixed at \$2.20 at Chicago.

These facts are stated without any intention of estimating their historic value. The orders here given were not carried out at once. The different contingents of the national army were sent to Louisville as fast as the camp at that place was prepared to receive them. Most of the Indiana troops were ordered to report during the last half of September. The state and county papers of that period contain notices of their leaving the county seats. Patriotic crowds gathered at the stations to manifest the appreciation all felt for those who were making the sacrifice. Preparations were begun at once to furnish everything to the men under arms to make their army life as pleasant as such life can be made. The generous response to all these demands indicated beyond question that Indiana would do all, and more, that the government asked. The different organizations of Indiana National guard reported to Hattiesburg, Mississippi, about the close of September, go-

²⁴ *Official Bulletin*, Sept. 22, 1915. A study of this organization will show what effect the present war has had on army organization. The ratio of infantry and artillery is as three to four while cavalry has practically disappeared.

ing by guard regiments from Fort Benjamin Harrison.³⁸

No reliable records are available of the part Indiana took in the war. There were asked from the state 6,280 volunteers for the different branches of the service, and 39,586 responded. The Indiana National guard on the Mexican border numbered 3,100, but when mustered into federal service had grown to 10,419.

After the war closed the soldiers were quietly returned home, May 7, 1919. A state-wide celebration was held at Indianapolis to welcome the returned troops.

The excitement during the period was in no wise comparable to that at the outbreak of the Civil war. There was no immediate tangible danger, neither was the demand so great in the latter as in the former war. The resources of the state are far greater now, the war was to be far away, there was no question concerning the loyalty of any large numbers of people, the machinery for raising the present army was all in national hands, though the state government assisted in every possible way, saving much time and money to the national government. In brief, the war, so far as Indiana was concerned, was a business affair, carried on in a business way, and without interfering much with the ordinary affairs of the people.

³⁸ The Third guard regiment left Fort Benjamin Harrison for Hattiesburg, September 28. The First and Fourth had preceded it a few days, while the Second still remained in the state several companies being on guard duty at the industrial centers of the state. *Indianapolis News*, Sept. 28, 1917.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

LITERARY HISTORY

§ 206 NEWSPAPERS

The history of literature is different in nature and distinct in subject-matter from that of education. It is true that literary men and women are educated, but the reverse is not true that most educated men and women are literary. Literature frequently springs up under the influence, or at least in the neighborhood, of schools, but much of our literature both in Indiana and elsewhere has not been even remotely connected with any educational institution. Nothing in the field of research has been more puzzling or elusive than the history of literature. The birth, development or inheritance of an inspiration is such an evanescent event that historians have not been able to find the evidence, nor have psychologists in their laboratories been able to account for it. It is reasonable to expect some explanation of literary genius, but in most cases about all that can be done is to hide our defeat as best we can under the old statement that genius is born, not made.

In spite of the inconclusiveness of the evidence and the disappointment at the results, there are events and circumstances in early Indiana history so closely connected with later literary production that they at least become interesting if not significant. The earliest activity in Indiana that might, by any stretch of the term, be called literary, was at Vincennes. Sometime during the year 1804, Elihu Stout, a former apprentice of the Bradfords, of Frankfort, Kentucky, and a personal friend of Andrew Jackson, drifted into Vincennes with the materials of a news-

paper. The *Indiana Gazette*, as the paper was called, made its appearance on the natal day of the republic, 1804. Editor Stout was a printer rather than a literary man, but he gathered about him a group of men, some of whom later developed literary taste if not skill.¹

At the head of the group was Governor Harrison, whose frequent references to the classics in all his state papers do not permit us to forget that he was a college man. His state papers and personal letters show that he was not insensitive to literary charm. He delighted in the society of such men as Jo. Daviess, Benjamin Parke and Thomas Randolph. The pages of the *Western Sun*² give us occasional glances of these congenial characters in their little reading room, searching the eastern papers for news of the great Napoleon, or drawing up stilted communications for the columns of the *Sun*, or perhaps taking part in some amateur theatrical performance in their

¹ W. H. Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, 290. "As early as 1805, the talented and aspiring young men who had settled here established what they called a 'Thespian Society' and gave entertainments as often as once a week and sometimes oftener. These histrionic exhibitions were liberally patronized by the citizens and were well attended, and were very entertaining, instructive, and successful. The society continued to exist and flourish until several years after the admission of the state into the union, and with a waning existence until as late as 1830. All the younger members of the bar, the surgeons and officers of the army, the medical profession, and many of the merchants and those engaged in the trades took part in these literary performances. A programme of the play and the cast of characters were printed by the editor of the *Sun*, who also took part in the performances. I have files of many of these printed programmes." The facts of this section are taken from a series of articles in the *Indianapolis Sunday Star* of 1916.

² The *Indiana Gazette* burned about one and one-half years after it was founded and the *Western Sun* took its place, beginning July 4, 1807.

local playhouse. They even planned, and all but succeeded, in establishing a college.

It seemed at one time that Vincennes would rival Lexington as a center of culture, but the exigencies of frontier life prevented the young plant from developing even into flower. Harrison was called to lead the army against Tecumseh and never returned. Randolph and Daviess fell at Tippecanoe where they rest side by side on the battlefield. When the war was over the glory of the little capital on the Wabash had departed though its influence lived on. Social culture must wait to some extent on political accommodation and sectional selfishness. Indiana was set back socially a quarter of a century by the two removals of its capital. Vincennes had progressed as far in 1810 as Indianapolis had in 1835. But Indiana has not been peculiar in this respect. The social capital of Kentucky was at Lexington and later at Louisville, while its political capital was at Frankfort. Cincinnati was deprived of the benefit of the political headship in Ohio, whose political capital flitted from Marietta to Chillicothe and thence to Columbus. Michigan, Illinois, Missouri and Wisconsin were in still worse luck. In fact Indiana was the first to secure the benefit of a united social, commercial and political capital.

Benjamin Parke and Isaac Blackford, two of the most scholarly of the Vincennes group, came on with the capital to Corydon. This village in 1814 was not without poetic charm. It is said Governor Harrison found life attractive on his Blue River farm, in company with Spier Spencer, John Tipton, Dennis Pennington and their neighbors. Nearby was Squire Boone's mill, with the devout inscription:

I sit and sing my soul's salvation
And pledge the God of my creation.*

* Charles Mooren, in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XIII, 20.

To this village, nestled in the hills, came Parke and Blackford, two of the best lawyers of early Indiana. Thither also came Governor Jennings, the politician. From New Albany or Louisville came Reuben W. Nelson with the inevitable newspaper, this one being named the *Indiana Herald*. By 1825 the capital could boast of such men as Armstrong Brandon, and his brother Jesse, who were the personal friends of Col. B. M. Johnson of Kentucky, and editors of the *Indiana Gazette*; Samuel Jadah, a graduate of Rutgers; Charles Dewey, a graduate of Williams; Harbin Moore, our first attorney general; Samuel Merrill, a graduate of Dartmouth. Already they had organized a lyceum, had founded the State Law library and were flirting with several of the Muses when the ruthless hand of politics snatched from their town its chief attraction.

Outside of Vincennes the first newspaper published in Indiana was the *Western Eagle*, founded by Seth M. Leavenworth and William Hendricks at Madison, in 1813. They brought their press with them from Cincinnati. The *Eagle* soon moved out to Lexington and the *Indiana Republican* took its place. In 1815 there came to the thriving town of Brookville a peripatetic printer named John Scott, who founded the *Brookville Enquirer* in 1815. About the same time William C. Keen, an Ohio printer, with the aid of John Francis Dufour, founder of Vevay, established the *Indiana Register* at Vevay. Thus when Indiana became a state it had a half-dozen voices to announce the fact.

These pioneer Indiana papers are very poor specimens of the newspaper art, with their long articles culled from the eastern papers, the vacuous messages and proclamations of the governor and president, with one or more labored essays in language that

would have astonished Milton, signed by some one of Plutarch's heroes.

After Benjamin Parke left Corydon he made his home at Salem. Here in the twenties and thirties he became one of the leaders in a group of veritably literary men. Here, also, after he left Madison, was the home of Christopher Harrison, a graduate of St. Johns, Annapolis, whose tragic life itself was a romance. Ebenezer Patrick and Beebe Booth established the *Salem Tocsin* as early as March, 1818. An anonymous edition of the *Life of Bonaparte* (by a citizen of the United States) from this press in 1818, seems to be among the very first books of a literary character published in the state. The letters of "Agricola" in the *Indiana Phoenix*, published at Salem by Ebenezer Patrick, were somewhat like the later letters on farming by Henry Ward Beecher. Henry S. Handy, John Allen, James G. May, W. H. May, Dr. Charles Hay and Royal B. Child, all early citizens of Salem, were no ordinary backwoodsmen. Dr. Hay and Mr. Child issued a Whig paper, the *Monitor*, in which Dr. Hay discussed politics. Here, in Salem, in a cozy little brick cottage, October 8, 1838, was born John M. Hay, the poet and statesman, and here he lived till 1841.* So strongly was the atmosphere of early Salem charged with literary sentiment that in 1827 a *Literary Register* was published, fed and supported by two strong literary societies which then flourished. Of this society also were the Truebloods and Morrisons, who led the fight for education in Indiana and kept Salem for a half century an educational center.

Among the aggressive characters, gathered around Editor Stont in territorial Vincennes, was John Os-

* W. R. Thayer, *The Life of John Hay*, I, 5. The story of Lieutenant-Governor Harrison is told in Woodlen's *Biographical Sketches*.

borne, a refugee Loyalist from New York and upper Canada. Though a partner of Stont, he was opposed to him morally and politically. With the departure of the capital, the *Western Sun* was not able to support two publishers, so Osborne set out again for the frontier. At Terre Haute he founded the *Western Register*, the pioneer paper of that city. As his apprentice, served Samuel B. Gookins, later the judge and lawyer, a native of Vermont. From Vermont also came Amory Kinney, a lawyer and educational leader. From Washington City came Thomas Dowling, the politician, a partner later of Milton Gregg in publishing the *Western Statesman* at Lawrenceburg. There were also Josephus and John Collett, the scientists. These were a few of the leaders in that early Terre Haute society which bred Jacob Page Chapman, the editor, Richard W. Thompson¹ and Daniel W. Voorhees,² the eloquent lawyers and politicians.

From Terre Haute Mr. Osborne went to Greencastle where he was connected with the *Hoosier Plow Boy*, the first newspaper of that town, and was also active in the founding of Asbury university. As companions he had William J. Burns, Judge Delana B. Eckels, and the faculty of Asbury, many of whom were noted for literary ability. Osborne was always urgent in the anti-slavery and temperance causes.

The Whitewater valley and its tributary settlements have been, from the first, promoters of the broader culture, but no single town or city can claim the hegemony of the region. Brookville was the pioneer and most distinguished community in the valley. A company of well-known lawyers of the old Third

¹ Mr. Thompson is the author of *The Papacy and the Civil Power*, *History of the Protective Tariff*, *Footprints of the Jesuits*, and *Personal Recollections of Sixteen Presidents*.

² D. W. Voorhees, *Forty Years of Oratory*.

circuit employed John Scott to publish the *Enquirer and Indiana Telegraph* at Brookville in 1815. Bethuel F. Morris, Miles C. Eggleston, D. J. Caswell, and William C. Drew were the leaders of this movement. Morris was later, for many years, a leading citizen of Indianapolis, Eggleston was the most famous of the old circuit judges, Caswell became a leader of the Cincinnati bar and Drew was the pioneer lawyer of Ripley county. Here, at Brookville, in 1833, C. F. Clarkson founded the *Indiana American*, one of the leading whig papers of the state, and edited it till 1853 when he passed the work on to a worthy successor, Thomas A. Goodwin, a member of the first graduating class of Asbury. The *Repository*, founded in 1827, was a strictly literary journal, as was the *Visitor*, which ran for a decade or so after 1834.

Though Lawrenceburg was almost as early in the newspaper field as Brookville, two or three early papers died in their infancy before the *Indiana Palladium* began its career in 1825. Its founders, Milton Gregg and David V. Culley, are better known as citizens of other towns; Gregg as editor of the *New Albany Tribune* and Culley as registrar of the Indianapolis land office. At the same time a wandering minstrel named W. Dawson found enough encouragement among the starchy old Revolutionary heroes to enable him to publish a "Political and Literary Miscellany" which he called the *Intelligencer*. It was on the *Western Statesman* of Lawrenceburg under Gregg that Augustus Jocelyn, Judge David Laird, Thomas Dowling and C. F. Clarkson caught the typomania and carried the infection to as many Indiana towns.

The newspaper life of New Albany was for many years overshadowed by that of Louisville. Ebenezer Patrick, a Methodist preacher, after his experience with the *Salem Tocsin*, came to New Albany in 1821

and founded the *Chronicle*. It was followed by a society paper, named the *Microscope*, in 1824. The *Crescent* of 1825 was backed by Reuben W. Nelson of the old Corydon *Indiana Herald*, who twice made races against William Hendricks for congress. His political articles show him to have been a writer of some skill, better than the average of his day. But the first real newspaper of New Albany was the *Gazette*, founded in 1830, the same year with the famous *Louisville Journal* of George D. Prentice. The files of the *Gazette* for twenty years mirror the eager energy of the little metropolis nestled at the foot of the Knobs. In its office were trained the Collins brothers, James, Henry and Thomas, Ignatius Mattingly, William and Leonard Green, Theodore L. Barnett, the rival and bitter enemy of the Chapmans of the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, and finally Milton Gregg. The *Gazette*, its successor, the *Tribune*, and their rival, the *Ledger*, were good papers, equals of the *Louisville Journal* in everything but literary elegance.

As noted above, Keen and Dufour had founded the *Indiana Register* at Vevay in 1816. Hither, in 1819, came John Douglas and printed this paper one year, before he went on to Corydon, whence as state printer he passed to Indianapolis to edit the *Indiana State Journal*. Here also worked John Allen before he started the famous *Salem Annotator*. The *Vevay Weekly Messenger*, published by W. C. Keen, after 1831, at his country home near Vevay, which he called "Printers' Retreat," was a purely literary sheet and retains some of the atmosphere in which the Egglestons, Julia Dumont and Amanda Dufour grew up.

Clark county, although the second oldest settlement in the state, was not so prominent in early newspaper work. Sometime about 1818 George Smith

and his step-son, Nathaniel Bolton, founded the *Indianian* at Jeffersonville. Smith was a Pennsylvanian, trained in the printers' craft on the Lexington, Kentucky, *Observer* and the Cincinnati *Liberty Hall and Gazette*. In December, 1821, they went to Indianapolis and the following January 28, in a log cabin on West Maryland street, began the publication of the Indianapolis *Gazette*, the first paper published in the "capital in the woods." March 7, 1823, Harvey Gregg, of New Castle, Kentucky, a lawyer, and Douglas Maguire, also of Kentucky, founded the *Western Censor and Emigrants' Guide*. These papers, the former becoming the *Sentinel*, the latter the *Journal*, continued the leading political papers of the state till February 26, 1906, and June 8, 1904, respectively. The best known editor of the *Sentinel* was Jacob Page Chapman, that of the *Journal* was John D. Defrees. Of the one hundred or more newspapers and magazines published in Indianapolis during the first century of its history, these two will remain the best expositors of its life and growth.

Wayne county's pioneer paper was the *Intelligencer* of Richmond, dating from December 29, 1821. However, neither the *Intelligencer*, nor its successor, the *Public Ledger*, nor the *Western Emporium*, founded at Centerville by John Scott, from Brookville, in 1824, was comparable in influence to the *Palladium*, founded January 1, 1831, and still alive. Its two famous early editors were D. P. Holloway and John Finley, both of Cincinnati training. Around the *Palladium* grew up a group of fairly good pioneer writers, including Finley, Judge S. E. Perkins, of the *Jeffersonian*, James Elder, John T. Plummer, Caleb Clark, editor of the *Washingtonians*, a temperance advocate carrying a page or two of stories and poems, Amelia Bloomer, editor of the *Lily*, and

Isaac Julian, founder of the *Indiana Radical*, the father of George W. Julian, the political agitator.

At Connersville Samuel W. Parker, lawyer, editor, politician and poet, gathered around his paper, the *Clarion*, perhaps the most gifted group of writers in the state at that time. It included as its leader Samuel W. Parker, a graduate of Oxford, Ohio, Caleb B. Smith, John O. Kane, William S. Burrows, Lavinia Brownlee and Louise Chitwood.

North of the National road the journalists first put in their appearance at Logansport and Lafayette. The irrepressible John Scott from the White-water valley founded the *Pottawattomie and Miami Times* at Logansport, August 15, 1829, while the Indian camps were yet in the village. The heading of the paper was adorned with the cut of a deer's antlers, which suggested to the settlers the name "Pottawattomie Buck," by which the paper was known. From this office graduated a whole company of editors, lawyers, writers and scholars. Chief of these were William J. Burns, son-in-law of Scott, Stanislaus Lasselle, John B. Dillon, the historian, Thomas Bringham, Daniel P. Baldwin, W. Swift Wright, C. B. Knowlton, S. A. Hall and Horace P. Biddle.

Lafayette was only a few days behind its neighbor in establishing its first paper, the *Free Press and Commercial Advertiser*, September 29, 1829. Its editor was Major John B. Semans. The successor of this paper, the *Journal*, has continued to the present one of the influential papers of the state. Crawfordsville followed, October 18, 1831, with the *Record*, of which the Tippecanoe hero, Judge Isaac Naylor, was the best-known editor. T. H. B. McCain, of the *Crawfordsville Journal*, was an influential editor in whose office a family of editors received training.

South Bend has been known quite as well through

its editors as through its wagon factories. The first of its editors were the Defrees brothers, John D. and Joseph H., who founded the *North-Western Pioneer and the St. Joseph Intelligencer* at South Bend, November 16, 1831. Schuyler Colfax, of the *Register*, and John B. Stoll, of the *Times*, have sustained the reputation. In Allen county, the *Sentinel*, of Fort Wayne, was founded by Thomas Tigar and S. V. B. Noel, the former a journeyman printer from Yorkshire, England, the latter from the *Indiana State Journal* of Indianapolis. Around this office grew up or collected a number of writers and editors of local note. John Dawson, of the *Times*, came to be the best known of the editors. Those of a literary disposition organized the Young Men's Literary Association and published their papers in the *Laurel Wreath*, the *Casket*, and the *Summit City Journal*.

The pioneer paper of Laporte was the *Laporte Whig*, founded in 1838 by J. M. Stuart and S. C. Chasbee. Capt. A. P. Andrew published it awhile and sold it to F. A. Stewart, one of the founders of the *Chicago Tribune*. Gen. Jasper Packard was editor of the *Union*, a successor of the *Whig* during early war times. Thomas Jernegan edited the *Indiana Tocsin* in Laporte in the forties. John C. Walker and Charles G. Powell were later the leading editors of the town. Around these men grew up a strong activity in educational and church affairs.

The *Goshen Democrat* perhaps holds the record in the north end of the state for continuity. It appeared in 1837 and still continues without change of name or policy. Dr. E. W. H. Ellis, its editor from 1839 to 1850, was known throughout the state. W. A. Beane and his son Joseph have conducted the *Democrat* for over sixty years.

These pioneer editors and their successors have been the makers, in large measure, of public opinion

in the state. None of them in reputation compares favorably with Horace Greeley or in ability with Henry Watterson. They were not as a group so scholarly as the lawyers or the ministers, but the editorial writing has been fairly good. The old-time editorial of the forties and fifties had a literary style and flavor which one misses in the present day newspaper. Not one of these editors built up a personal following which enabled him to dictate either politically or otherwise. Excepting the *Sentinel*, in the forties, under the Chapmans, they have been the servants of the parties they represented. There have been comparatively few independent newspapers in the state, the present Indianapolis *News* being the oldest and most successful example. What the combined influence of the editors on the political, educational, social and literary life of the state has been, can only be approximately estimated. It seems not too much to say, however, that they are worthy of being placed beside the teachers, preachers and lawyers among the builders of the state.

§ 207 ORATORY

In Indiana public speaking has always been highly appreciated. The first public speakers were the preachers. The ordinary pastors, the itinerant Methodist circuit-riders, the missionaries and especially the Baptist preachers, each had peculiarities of style and delivery and each left marked traces on later generations of public speakers. The Baptists and Methodists depended largely on the inspiration of the moment for their utterance. In many instances the preacher had not decided on his text until after he reached the meeting place. Enthusiasm was the chief ingredient of their oratory. Speaking from notes or reading a sermon was not tolerated.¹ So

¹ Peter Cartwright remarked of a young eastern preacher

widespread was this prejudice that there are few audiences in Indiana even today but what have a decided preference for this "off-hand" delivery.

There can be no question of the eloquence of such preachers as Peter Cartwright, Calvin Ruter or James Havens of the Methodist church; Elijah Goodwin, James Mathes, or Benjamin Franklin of the Christian; John Vawter, Isaac McCoy or Jesse L. Holman of the Baptist; John M. Dickey, Samuel T. Scott, or W. M. Martin of the Presbyterian. These are only representative of several hundreds of these old-fashioned preachers whose extemporaneous eloquence delighted and edified the first generation of Hoosiers. They were not scholarly men, neither were they uneducated. They had adventured narrowly in the field of human literature but in the field of human life they had been in touch with reality at many points. What they lacked in breadth they made up in depth and intensity. The Bible they had by heart and over its problems they pondered deeply as they read horseback along the lonely trails. The substance of their discourse, then, was a compound of the Bible and their own experience, formulated in homely, picturesque phrases. They preached the judgments of God and the damning influence of sin, a wholesome theology to the rough, lawless frontiersmen. There was no waiting for an elegant term, but the common word, though a stranger to any dictionary, was impressed.¹ The camp meeting and the

speaking from notes that "it made him think of a swelling that had got the straddles by wading in the dew." W. H. Milburn, *Pioneers, Preachers, and People of the Mississippi Valley*. 417

¹ Such hard-hitting words as cantankerous, tetototously, rambunctious, sockdologer explatinate, abequatulate, formed the basis for emphasis. The surging crowd was at the speaker's elbow and no honey-dew would satisfy it. For examples of this language see Benjamin Franklin, *Twenty Sermons*, Hall's *The*

joint debate furnished the best stages for these orators. The fact that audiences were held through successive days is ample proof of the speakers' powers over their audiences. It hardly need be observed that no one now would listen to such sermons except for amusement.³

The influence of college training on the oratory of the preachers has been noticeable and interesting. In general the fire of the earlier day has been cooled. Elegance has supplanted force and, excepting one school, it is a question whether the second generation of preachers was as effective as the first. Asbury university developed a school of oratory, the most pronounced in the state. Whether due to its curriculum, instruction or the direct influence of a line of eloquent bishops connected with the school, is not apparent, but the heat of the early missionaries has been preserved while grace and diction have been added. Matthew Simpson, Thomas Bowman, John P. D. John, H. A. Gobin, John B. DeMotte and Edwin Holt Hughes have been among the leading orators of the country.

The second group of orators to appear in Indiana, in fact they were contemporaries of the preachers, was the circuit-riding attorneys, the so-called "great lawyers." Each judge presided over a circuit, composed of from six to twelve counties. Accompanying

New Purchase (Woodburn Edition), 371. W. C. Smith. *Indiana Miscellany*, Strickland. *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright*, Catherine Cleveland. *The Great Revival*. There is considerable literature of this material in Indiana university library.

³ The best accounts of these joint debates are in James Mathes' *Christian Teacher*, the works of Alexander Campbell, Mathes' *Life of Goodwin* and other volumes of that date. Erasmus Manford, an Universalist of Terre Haute, was a famous debater. Records of at least a score of his debates remain. The Owen-Campbell debate at Cincinnati attracted national attention somewhat like a World Series baseball game at present.

them from county seat to county seat was a cavalcade of lawyers. On all and singular occasions these men were expected to be, and were ready to deliver an oration. On a court case that would now be "argued" in half an hour, each lawyer then demanded a half day while not infrequently an important murder case was "argued" three days. On such occasions all the gentry round gathered to the courtyard to hear the "pleading."

These men were more popular than the preachers and on all social or festive occasions such as muster day, Fourth of July and barbecues, or more especially at banquets given to visiting statesmen, made the addresses. Fortunately hundreds of these latter orations are preserved in the local newspapers, where they were printed, in spite of the "strong protest" of the authors. There was one common subject for all these convivial efforts: The liberty of our country and its glorious achievements. The long, sonorous phrases borrowed from Patrick Henry, the Adamses, Webster, Clay, Pitt and Burke were the staple. As the orator, with staring eyes and flaming face, delivered himself of these ponderous periods the rustics expressed their admiration in many a boisterous cheer. Before a jury the best of the circuit-riders had unbounded influence. Their intensive study of Blackstone and Coke made them masters of the best legal language. Such men as Charles Dewey, O. H. Smith, Samuel Judah and Joseph Jernegan were pleasing, forceful speakers. No better training in oratory was then anywhere to be had than to sit at the feet of these lawyers.

Their successors, profiting by the examples of hearing their predecessors and by the training to be had in the colleges, were more polished orators. Such men as Henry S. Lane, Abraham Lincoln, Daniel W. Voorhees, George G. Dunn, Joseph E. McDonald and

James Whitcomb were not excelled as forensic pleaders at the bar in this country. Many of them had a national reputation and a nation-wide practice. Modern law practice is not conducive to the production of this kind of orators and it is hardly to be expected that their equals will ever again be heard in the court rooms of Indiana.¹⁰

Closely related to the legal profession have been the political orators of the state. In fact most of our politicians have been lawyers. Their oratory on the hustings has been the most characteristic literary expression of the Indiana people. In its freedom, its extravagance, its buoyancy, its piquancy, enthusiasm and whole-heartedness it has expressed Indiana life more fully than any other form of literature. It is best studied by periods and parties. From 1825 to 1850 the Whig and Jacksonian Democratic orators held the stage. Of the Whigs the best known were Joseph G. Marshall, Samuel Parker, R. W. Thompson, George G. Dunn and Henry S. Lane. These represented all phases of oratory. Marshall was stately, dignified and Websterian; Parker was literary, musical and picturesque; Thompson was verbose, reminiscent, but interesting; Dunn was refined and literary, but keen and cutting; Lane was illustrative, allegorical, resembling Lincoln in the use of pithy incident.

Opposed to these were James Whitcomb, Tilghman Howard, Edward Hannegan, Joseph A. Wright and John W. Davis as representatives of the Democratic orators. Whitcomb was most polished, pleas-

¹⁰ Only a few examples of this kind of oratory have been preserved. O. H. Smith, *Trials and Sketches*, is the best reference. In *Courts and Lawyers of Indiana* the author has treated this subject more fully. In *Bench and Bar*, D. D. Ranta and W. W. Thornton have given their appreciation of these men. See, also, Daniel W. Voorhees' *Forty Years of Oratory*.

ing and statesmanly; Hannegan was impulsive, impassioned, irresistible and perhaps the most eloquent political speaker in the state, at least in his day. To hear a pair of these men, a Whig and a Democrat, engage in a joint debate was such a treat as would cause men to take their families twenty to forty miles in ox wagons to hear. Few examples of this oratory remain but the united testimony of a generation leaves no doubt that it was enjoyed by those who heard it.

The Civil war group includes among many others, O. P. Morton, Ashbel P. Willard, Thomas A. Hendricks, Schuyler Colfax, David Turpie, Albert G. Porter, Joseph E. McDonald, Benjamin Harrison, Daniel W. Voorhees and George W. Julian. No attempt is made to compare these men. Thousands of men now living have sat under the spell of their voices and scores of their speeches have been preserved. While the flavor of oratory is usually lost in mere reading, some of the speeches of these men may yet be read for pleasure as well as for information. A younger group of political speakers, now living, bid fair to excel all their predecessors in this field, though it is too early to attempt to estimate their final value. In this latter class one would seem to take no risk in naming Albert J. Beveridge, James E. Watson, Eugene V. Debs, J. Frank Hanly, or Edwin Holt Hughes.

§ 208 PROSE

Of first-rate writers of prose Indiana has had a small number. Judge Isaac Blackford, who sat on the supreme bench of the state from 1817 to 1853, has usually been conceded one of the cleverest writers in the field of law. His *Reports*, in seven volumes, have been models for three generations of lawyers. He was born at Bound Brook, New Jersey, November 6,

1786, graduated from Princeton in 1802 and came to Indiana in 1811. The strength of his prose is its simplicity. In this regard he has been followed by Benjamin Harrison, who in breadth of scholarship excelled him. In the historical field Indiana has no writer who has attracted the notice of the world for literary excellency. John C. Rudpath tells a story with effect but his neglect of historical criticism has made his work so unreliable as history as to render his writings almost useless.

In prose fiction the state has produced an army of workmen ranging in achievement from first rate work down to zero. This prose, rather remarkable for its quantity, may, for the sake of discussion, be divided into two classes, that which deals substantially with Indiana and that which does not. The division is entirely arbitrary except that the former has an avenue of appeal which the latter has not and for that reason has been overrated as literature. It may be observed that all great literature is local but that no provincial literature is great.

Of these critics of Indiana life, the first was Baynard Rush Hall, principal of the Indiana seminary. Hall was a native of Philadelphia, a graduate of Princeton and a Presbyterian minister by training. The lure of the West was in his blood. He had visions of doing great deeds for humanity in this land of miracles. He followed this dream, about 1822, into the wilderness of Indiana, locating on the frontier near the present town of Gosport. His book, *The New Purchase, or Seven and a Half Years in the Far West*, narrates his experiences there and at Bloomington. Judge D. D. Banta, who came as near assessing Indiana pioneers at their true value as any writer, pronounced it "the best and truest history of pioneer life and pioneer surroundings in Indiana that can anywhere be found." Nevertheless, like

Robert Owen, Hall was unable to realize his beautiful vision and returned a disappointed man.¹¹

While Hall was enjoying himself learning to shoot the old squirrel rifle in Monroe and Owen counties, Mrs. Julia L. Dumont was "serving humanity" at Vevay, teaching a district school and reveling in the natural beauty of the Hoosier Switzerland. Mrs. Dumont, who was born near Marietta, Ohio, in 1794, and twenty years later came to Vevay, was a teacher rather than a writer of prose, though in *Lake Sketches from Common Paths*, she has preserved some of the traditions of her time and neighborhood. From the standpoint of literature her writings are not now readable, but from the standpoint of the history of culture in the state they are valuable.¹²

The fact that Mrs. Dumont was the teacher and inspirer of the Eggleston brothers, Edward and George Cary, has, more than her writings, kept up an interest in her. Edward and George Cary Eggleston were sons of Joseph Cary Eggleston, one of the leading lawyers and politicians of the late thirties in Indiana. At their beautiful home in picturesque Vevay the brothers were born, the elder in 1837, the younger in 1839. In their training and surroundings they had the best to be had in the state. Their father, one of the most promising young men of the state,

¹¹ D. D. Banta, *Tales of Pioneers*, Indianapolis News, May 30, 1888, sec. 1, James A. Woodburn, *The New Purchase, Centennial Edition*, introduction. The first edition of *The New Purchase* was published at New Albany in 1843. An abbreviated edition was published in 1855. The volume does not rank high in literary merit.

¹² The best biography of Mrs. Dumont is by T. M. Eddy in the *Ladies Repository*, XVII, 321 (June, 1857). This article was copied almost verbatim by William T. Coggeshall, *Fort and Poetry of the West*, 43, where a number of her poems are given. In *Herribner's*, March, 1879, is an excellent appreciation by Edward Eggleston.

was of Virginia, English stock, and a cursory reading of his famous report on the Internal Improvement transactions in Indiana, made to the state senate in 1842, will convince one that the sons hardly excelled their father in the mastery of the English language. Their mother was of the Craig family of Kentucky, four of whom, including her father, George, sat in the Indiana General Assembly. The father's cousin, Miles C. Eggleston, was the most famous circuit judge that ever held court in the state. Some years after the death of their father, their mother married William Terrell, a Methodist minister, who took his family to live first at Madison, then at New Albany, when these towns were the business and social centers of the state. These, coupled with the further facts that they had the best education obtainable in the west and a childhood of ease and culture, account, so far as outside conditions can, for their high achievements. They were observers of the pioneer life in the neighborhood of their home and especially of the rough "river rats," but while other boys of their age were grubbing sprouts in the "new ground," they were feasting on the exquisite beauty of nature along the banks of the Ohio.

For awhile, Edward Eggleston preached, but in 1866 he gave that up for editorial writing, returning to the pulpit again in 1874. In 1870 he removed to New York City. Editorial work having again attracted him from the pulpit, he gave his entire attention afterward to literary work.

While editor of *Hearth and Home*, in 1871, he contributed *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*. The next year, 1872, appeared *The End of the World; The Mystery of Metropolisville* followed in 1873; in 1874 came *The Circuit Rider*; *Roxy* was published in 1878, while the author was pastor of a church in Brooklyn; *The Hoosier Schoolboy* bears date of 1883; *The Grey-*

soms, 1887. These seven volumes form the author's commentary on Hoosier character and customs.¹² His reputation as a literary man rests on this work for it does not seem that *Duffels*, *The Faith Doctor* and the other stories of that class could have found a publisher had their author been unknown.

The Hoosier series was given to the world by the author as an honest delineation of the Hoosiers.¹³ But, granting this does not concede the faithfulness of the picture.¹⁴ As stated above, none of these books

¹² It should be kept in mind that there is no wide difference between the people of southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois and the characters here drawn are taken from the section rather than from Indiana alone.

¹³ "But the picture of Western country life in *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* would not have been complete without this companion-piece, which presents a different phase of it. And indeed there is no provincial life richer in material if only one knew how to get at it"—Edward Eggleston, *The End of the World*, 7.

"It has been objected that I have copied life too closely, but it seems to me that the work to be done just now is to represent the forms and spirit of our own life, and thus free ourselves from habitual imitation of that which is foreign. I have wished to make my stories of value as a contribution to the history of civilization in America."—Edward Eggleston, *The Mystery of Metropolisville*.

"I had thought to close up the cycle of my stories of life in the Mississippi Valley with *Rory*, which was published in 1878. But when I undertook by request of the editor to write a short story for the *Century Magazine*, and to found it on a legendary account of one of President Lincoln's trials, the theme grew on my hands until the present novel was the result."—Edward Eggleston, *The Graysens*.

¹⁴ The following quotation from an editorial review in *Atlantic* will show what the world understood from Eggleston's writings: "In Mr. Eggleston's *Hoosier Schoolmaster* we are made acquainted with the rudeness and ugliness of the intermediate West, after the days of pioneering, and before the days of civilization—the West of horse thief gangs and of mobs, of protracted meetings and of extended uprees, of ignorance drawn slowly through religious fervors towards the desire to knowledge and decency in

is autobiographical in the sense that Hall's *New Purchase* or Mark Twain's *Roughing It* is. Eggleston never experienced this life, was not one of its actors, but only an observer. He held somewhat the same relation to his literary family that Dickens did to his, although of course the personal experiences of the two authors were different. They caricatured society rather than described it. It is further to be kept in mind that the observations on which the books were founded were those of a youth under sixteen and that the impressions there formed were not used until twenty years later. No critical historian but would reject such evidence as unreliable. Moreover there is nothing more delusive to a mere observer, judging character, than outward appearance. Certainly no childish observer would have chosen Socrates as the wise man in the symposium.

On the other hand the work of Edward Eggleston is not, for that reason, worthless to history or to the history of culture. His honesty and literary power

this world. The scene of the story is in Hoopole County, Indiana, a locality which we hope the traveler would now have some difficulty in finding, and in a neighborhood settled, apparently, by poor whites from Virginia and Kentucky, sordid Pennsylvania Dutchmen, and a sprinkling of cute dishonest Yankees."—*Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. XXIX, 363.

The same result is seen in the following quotation from C. F. Richardson: "The very titles of his works—*The Hoosier Schoolmaster*, *The Circuit Rider*, *The Mystery of Metropolisville*, *Roads*—illuminate the scenes and characters described. The scenes are rough and the characters 'tough,' in the better sense and sometimes in the worse, but the fidelity with which youth and age in the backwoods are painted makes the books, like so many other American works, at least valuable essays toward that full delineation of the whole country which our novelists seem surely, though irregularly, to be making." C. F. Richardson, *American Literature*, II, 422.

These reviewers perhaps knew as much about pioneer life in Indiana as they did about the mound-builders, certainly not more.

are unquestioned. What he has given in his writings are the outward forms, expressions, the trappings or husks of pioneer life along the north bank of the Ohio river. The physical portrait is well drawn and is not without value, but the sympathy that dignifies the characters of Hay and Riley is lacking in Eggleston. The bare feet and patched pants no doubt were prominent but they were not of the essence of a south Indiana Hoosier before the Civil war. The aged and failing myth about the emigration of the "poor whites" from the south across the Ohio river has done yeoman service. It has borne for years the characterization, tough, rude, lawless, ignorant, sordid, debauched and predatory. When informed of these qualities, gratuitously, by the smug critic the average citizen of that region smiles benevolently and says: "Much obliged" and goes on about his work.

In the broader field of literature Edward Eggleston takes high rank. He was an early realist, one of the very first in the west. In character drawing, scene painting, dramatization and, in fact, all the elements that go to make up the novelist, there is little lacking in his best books. These qualities have made him, in Indiana, the best known of our novelists.

Mr. Eggleston spent his last years writing history. His labors in this field were too brief to produce much result. *The Beginners of a Nation* and the *Transit of Civilization* are readable and accurate but are not sufficient to entitle the author to rank among the first-rate historians of the United States. Mr. Eggleston died September 4, 1902.¹⁰

¹⁰ For a study of Mr. Eggleston outside his own prefacem see Meredith Nicholson, *The Hoosiers*, 124; *The Provincial American*, 25; *the Forum*, X, 279 (Nov. 1890); George Cary Eggleston, *The First of the Hoosiers* (a biography of Edward Eggleston); *the Nation*, XIV, 44; *Reviews of Reviews*, XXVI, 448; *Scrutator's* (Sept. 1873), VI, 581; *the Atlantic*, XXIX, 368 and XXX, 740

George Cary Eggleston was two years younger than Edward. The circumstances of their early life were similar. However, after studying awhile in Asbury university, he turned to his relatives in Virginia, became a southerner in the Civil war and afterward took up literary work in New York City. Only two of his numerous books deal with Indiana themes. *The First of the Hoosiers*, a biography of himself and brother Edward, and *The Last of the Flatboats*, a story described by its title.¹⁷ Neither of these has enough literary or historical merit to keep it alive. A number of other writers of local note lived around Vevay and Madison while the Egglestons and Dumonts flourished, but none of them has attained any considerable reputation.

A combination of circumstances, chief of which was Wabash college, developed a literary center at Crawfordsville. While not drawing so largely on Indiana history for their themes, the Crawfordsville writers have been more truly Hoosiers in their lives. The senior and leader of the group was General Lew Wallace, who is usually conceded to be either the greatest or the poorest of the Indiana novelists. He was a man of wide interests and experience. His father was governor of Indiana, a representative in congress and one of the most eloquent of the early lawyers of the state. His maternal grandfather, John Test, sat in congress two terms, and was later distinguished as a leading politician and lawyer. At Brookville, where Lew Wallace was born, April 10, 1827, at Covington, and later at Indianapolis, his education was as good as could be had, though he

(reviews by W. D. Howells): also an appreciation by Nicholson, *Atlantic*, XC, 304. These are sufficient to show his rating by critics.

¹⁷ G. C. Eggleston, *Recollections of a Varied Life*, Bookman, XXXI.

never attended college. He served with distinction in the Mexican and Civil wars, after which he settled down to the practice of law; or tried to, for a controlling desire to do literary work had long before manifested itself.

Before the war General Wallace had begun a novel which he named *The Fair God*, based on Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*. This was finished in 1873 and carried to a Boston publishing house, Osgood and Company. It appears that no American reviewers undertook to pass judgment on the novel when it appeared. Nothing resembling it had been offered to the reading public and there seemed no way to measure its merits or predict its reception. The story itself closely follows Prescott; there is such a formidable array of unpronounceable names; the whole story is so prodigal of blood and slaughter, was such an ugly duckling looking creation, that its favorable acceptance by the reading public might well be doubted. It was ten or fifteen years before the novel reached its maximum popularity, though it was immediately popular in London.

In the meantime General Wallace was laying his literary plans on a more ambitious scale. He ransacked the Congressional library for books on Jewish history. He had determined to clear his own mind on the subject of the divinity of Christ. For this reason he wrote *Ben Hur*. From the standpoint of the book stalls this is the present high water mark of Indiana novels. The other novel, *The Prince of India*, 1893, did not attain the popularity of *Ben Hur*. He had worked on *The Prince of India* since 1886 and in conception and execution it would seem to merit as high praise as its predecessor. These, together with a few shorter articles, such as *The Boyhood of Christ*, 1892, fill up the measure of his work. He had

well-nigh completed his *Autobiography* at the time of his death, February 15, 1905.

Although *Ben Hur* is the most widely-read novel written in America since the Civil war, neither it nor its author has ever found favor with the professional critics. Neither of the standard American literary reviews seems to have noticed either *Ben Hur* or *The Fair God* when they were published. In fact, *The Fair God* lay dormant for ten years and only came to life in the light of its successor, *Ben Hur*. Wallace was not a Bohemian in habits, but associated with politicians, statesmen and soldiers. Consequently his literary art was not to the liking of the craft. In fact, when he brought his team out on the literary race track the judges all fled from their posts. His prose has strength rather than beauty. The great scenes are separated by long stretches of monotonous commonplace. Whatever his value as an artist, he has found a large audience.¹⁰ The subjects which Wallace has treated have no relation to Indiana and will not, therefore, be discussed at length here.

Very different from either Eggleston or Wallace was James Maurice Thompson, son and grandson of Baptist preachers. He was born near Brookville, Indiana, September 9, 1844. His mother was Dutch,

¹⁰ The best reference is *Low Wallace, an Autobiography*; Nicholson, *The Hoosiers*, 180. Mary H. Kront, "Personal Reminiscences of Low Wallace," in *Harper's Weekly*, II, 406. The standard texts on American literature contain only the briefest mention. Charles F. Richardson, *American Literature*, II, 441, has this: "Meanwhile two hundred thousand copies of *Ben Hur*, a *Tale of the Christ*, have been distributed among pleased readers, to whom its religious suggestions and its occasionally vivid pictures have been most welcome, though the construction and—to me at least—dull literary style are of the amateur rather than the true historical novelist." This is the only mention made of Wallace and his work in a book containing thirty-five pages devoted to Cooper and one to Edward Eggleston.

his father was Scotch-Irish, both were well educated and prominent, and both were of old Revolutionary families. The ministerial duties of the father led him up and down the Ohio valley, and finally landed him in a wild glen among the hills of north Georgia. This life in the wilderness was the determining influence in the education of the son. He was naturally a poet; became a poetic scientist, practiced law as a profession; was a civil engineer, and will be remembered as a writer of prose. His education, largely literary, emphasized these qualities. More than the Egglestons or Wallace, he had the temper of an artist. His life in the woods gave him an appetite for backwoods stories. In this field lay the materials for his three books dealing with Indiana subjects.

The first of the three, in 1876, was a collection of short stories dealing with characters and scenes in the vicinity of Crawfordsville. These stories attracted some attention locally but little elsewhere. The *Witchery of Archery* followed in 1878 and first brought the writer into notice. While practicing law in Crawfordsville was his occupation, he usually spent the winter in the south writing novels. In 1886 he produced *A Banker of Bankerville*, a Crawfordsville theme. The story is of a speculator who rapidly acquired wealth, endowed, or assisted financially, colleges and churches with other people's money, "blew up in the home stretch" and disappeared. The author very modestly introduces himself as "Mildford," the honest lawyer.

In Indiana by far his best known story is *Alice of Old Vincennes*, 1900, a historical novel dealing with the capture of Vincennes by George Rogers Clark; in fact it is so historical in many places that it is threadbare. The author pried open the joints of Clark's narrative here and there and inserted stories gath-

ered from a collection furnished him in Vincennes."¹⁴ Although it is a thrilling story of rough frontier experiences the volume has little literary merit. Three-fourths of the space is devoted to a plain historical narrative which is spoiled for history by the love story grafted on. As a poet and critic, Thompson also earned some recognition. His views on criticism are contained in a small volume entitled *Ethics of Literary Art* (1893).¹⁵ He contributed many articles to the magazines, the *Cosmopolitan*, *Atlantic*, *Century*, *Outing*, *Critic*, and especially to the *Independent*, of which he was an editorial staff correspondent. One of these articles, "An Archer on the Kankakee," has especial value for Indiana, being an account of a trip, while state geologist, over the region which LaSalle explored in 1679. He died at Crawfordsville, February 15, 1901.

From Crawfordsville also came Meredith Nicholson, one of the most widely-known Indiana literary men at present. Like all literary men of Indiana he comes of good stock and enjoyed a first-class education. His ancestors were from the south and came with the great migration by way of Kentucky; his education was received in the society of Crawfordsville and Indianapolis, supplemented by a degree from Wabash. He listened to General Wallace, Ben-

¹⁴ These stories, together with a number of others, had been gathered by Margaret O'Flynn and Ida Lusk, who were preparing them for publication when Thompson's novel appeared. Mary Hannah Krost had just completed a manuscript entitled "On the War Trail" on the same subject when *Alice of Old Vincennes* came from the press. Although the two authors lived in the same town it seems neither knew the other was working on the subject.

¹⁵ The best critique on Maurice Thompson is William M. Baskerville, *Southern Writers*, I 80-136. Meredith Nicholson, *The Moniera*, 189 for a critical study of his work consult the *Independent* from 1890 to 1902. No collection of his works has been published.

jamin Harrison, Thomas A. Hendricks, Joseph E. McDonald, as well as the cracker barrel philosophers of the seventies. Finally he was initiated into the secrets of Hoosier character by James Whitcomb Riley. He is as well acquainted with the rough side and the shortcomings of western life as was Eggleston, but unlike the latter, has never lost sympathy nor hope. Even ten years of newspaper work has not wrecked his literary health, nor spoiled his temper.

He entered the field of literature by way of poetry, *Short Flights*, contributed occasionally to the newspapers and collected into a volume in 1891. After ten years of reportorial and other writing for newspapers, Mr. Nicholson published *The Hoosier*, an appreciation of the literary work done by Indians. The little volume, both historical and critical in the better sense of both terms, in its sane, modest estimates has done much to correct the impression made by Eggleston's novels.

The author's first venture at a long story was *The Main Chance* (1903), the scene of which was laid in Missouri and Nebraska. It at least shows the bent of the author's mind in choosing the setting for his stories. The characters are the men and women of affairs in a rapidly growing western town. In *Zelda Dameron* (1904) Mr. Nicholson transferred his range to Indianapolis. The story pictures the capital changing from a slightly overgrown, county-seat town to a modern business city. The characters are well drawn but the story as a whole is slow and painstaking. In the *House of a Thousand Candles* the author shook the soil from his feet and mounted at once into thin air. He came to anchorage finally at Maxinkuckee, but the story is whole cloth, warp and woof, imagination. The story is a thrill and the book sold. The *Port of Missing Men* (1907) resembles the

House of a Thousand Candles in being a purely fanciful story. In *Rosalind of Red Gate* (1907) the author returns to the Annandale of the *House of a Thousand Candles*, building up another romance largely with the same characters. *The Little Brown Jug at Kildare* (1908) takes the reader to the Carolinas. *The Lords of High Decision* (1909) is a return by the author to his first scene of operations, in which he tried to reform the coal barons of Pittsburgh. *The Siege of the Seven Sultors* (1910) is a fanciful story located nowhere; but in the *Hoosier Chronicle* (1912) the author returns boldly to Indianapolis and Crawfordsville and deals frankly with social and political conditions of the nineties. It is a story with a plot, though, like a short tunnel, it is not so dark but one can see light at either end from the middle. Although there is a sufficient amount remaining, provincialism in Indiana was passing away, as one readily notes in comparing these characters with those of Eggleston of the second quarter, or those of Riley of the third quarter of the century.

The Provincial American and Other Papers (1912) is a collection of magazine articles principally from the *Atlantic*. The leading paper, as well as several others, is autobiographical. *The Provincial Capital* is an historical essay on Indianapolis. *Otherwise Phyllis* (1913) is a second and so far as the story goes, a better *Hoosier Chronicle*, with Crawfordsville for a background. *The Port* (1914) is a story with Riley for the leading character, the *Proof of the Pudding* (1916) is yet another Indianapolis story, one of the best the author has written. These and their author's numerous papers published in magazines constitute a valuable commentary on Hoosier character of the later day.²²

²² There is no scarcity of notices in the magazines of Mr. Nicholson and his work but no single reference is worth making.

Other writers who have brought fame to Crawfordsville are Susan Arnold Wallace (1830-1907), wife of General Wallace, Mary Hannah Krout and her sister, Caroline Virginia Krout. The greater part of the writings of all three relate to their travels. As such they have been widely read but they can not be classed as Indiana literature. Caroline Krout is the author of *Knights in Fashion* (1900) a tale of the Knights of the Golden Circle in Parke and adjoining counties, which not only has historical value but is a readable story. The description of local conditions and the characterization of the common folks are well done. *On the Wea Trail* has the same general theme as *Alice of Old Vincennes*. An ancestor of Miss Krout by the name of Benham figures prominently in the story as does the Dubois family. *Dionis of the White Veil* (1911) is the story of a company of priests and nuns who came from Paris by way of New Orleans with the intention of founding a mission at the mouth of White river. However, it is by their travel stories that the three women are best known.²⁸

Literature was not cultivated in Indianapolis till after the Civil war, though some casual work dates from an earlier period. While Henry Ward Beecher was a pastor there in the forties he edited the *Western Farmer and Gardener*. Contrary to the inference from its name this was a literary journal. In the volume before me, 1846, there are dozens of paragraphs about the every-day affairs of the farm done in spicy English, though it is difficult to see any im-

He has been a contributor for many years to *Atlantic*. Of late a number of his papers have appeared in *World's Work* and *Collier's*. In *The Provincial American* is the best account. Even were it in place here, it is too soon to attempt any estimate of the value of Mr. Nicholson's writings.

²⁸ Nicholson, *The Hoosiers*, 212.

mediate connection between them and farming. Berry R. Sulgrove, editor of the *Indianapolis Journal*, preceding the war, was regarded at the time as the most gifted editorial writer in the state; though not so much could always be said for the judgment shown in his editorials. While editing the *Journal* in 1857 he prevailed on O. H. Smith, then a retired lawyer of Indianapolis, to put in manuscript some of the experiences of his forty years' practice at the law. It would be hard to believe that any other man in the state at the time had a wider acquaintance with its historical characters and certainly in the telling no one could have excelled him. He was in mellow old age; life had been a pleasure to him and his mind was clear and serene. His *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches* is unique in our history. Its only competitor in the field is Judge Jacob Burnet's *Notes on the Discovery and Settlement of the Northwest Territory*.^{*} Few Indiana books have been quoted more than the *Trials and Sketches*.

Early in 1862, when it was seen that the war would be one of the great events in the state's history an Indianapolis publishing house, Merrill & Company, formed the plan of publishing a war history of the state, containing as a feature a biography of each man who lost his life in the cause. The work of editing and writing the two volumes devolved on Catharine Merrill, daughter of Samuel Merrill, one of the well-known pioneers of the state. The volumes are entitled *The Indiana Soldier* and were published in 1866. At the same time the General Assembly ordered the state librarian, David Stevenson, to prepare a list of all the Indiana soldiers engaged in the war, together with brief regimental histories. Mr. Stevenson completed the first volume of this work

^{*} Published in Cincinnati, 1867.

but the second and last was finished by Theodore T. Scribner. Curiously enough, the first volume was printed by H. H. Dodd, grand commander of the Knights of the Golden Circle. The volumes are entitled *Indiana's Roll of Honor*. The statistical records contemplated in each of these books was published by Adjutant General W. H. H. Terrill, in eight volumes and are known as *Terrell's Reports*.

Contemporary with these historical writers was John B. Dillon, a Virginian by birth (1808), an editor by profession, and state librarian from 1845 to 1851. During his career as editor in Logansport, he, in co-operation with Lasselle, Tipton and others, had accumulated a great many documents relating to the history of the state. Dillon formed the ambitious plan of writing a history of the state, but, though encouraged by the General Assembly and kept in public office eighteen years, he permitted antiquarian curiosity to lead him so far from his undertaking that he was unable to bring the history down farther than the end of territorial times. His two volumes, *Historical Notes* and the *History of Indiana*, bear date 1843 and 1859 respectively. It is such a straightforward, accurate account, that it is much to be regretted that it was not finished. He drifted off to Washington at the beginning of the Civil war, where he was in federal employment till 1875. He died in Indianapolis in 1879.

Indianapolis, as a literary center, owes a debt to George C. Harding, editor at times of the *Herald*, the *Review*, the *Journal*, *Mirror*, and *Sentinel*. He was a literary, rather than an editorial writer. He encouraged all the fledglings to try their wings, not merely by furnishing an avenue of publication but by gathering them to his house, where, around the dinner table, discussion and criticism were mingled with the meal. Aside from his editorial writings he pub-

lished a single volume, *Miscellaneous Writings* (1882).

John H. Holiday, founder of the *News* and author of a number of historical essays, Elijah Halford, editor of the *Journal* in the eighties, Charles R. Williams, editor of the *News* and author of a *Life of Rutherford B. Hays*, and Louis Howland, its present editor and author of *Day Unto Day*, are the later editors who have earned wide reputations.

Of those who have devoted themselves to literature Booth Tarkington is best known. He is a native of Indianapolis (1869), educated at Purdue and Princeton. His father, John S. Tarkington, was born at Centerville, Wayne county (1832), graduated from DePauw (1852); his mother, Elizabeth Booth, was a native of Salem (1834). The father has practiced law in the state since 1855; was a captain in the Civil war, and has sat on the circuit court bench and in the General Assembly. Mr. Tarkington is thus prepared to speak with understanding of Indiana folks.

A Gentleman from Indiana was his letter of introduction to the literary world. It appears in *McClure's* in 1897 and in book form in 1899. The theme of *A Gentleman from Indiana* is village life in Indiana shortly after the Civil war. There was an isolation of neighborhoods then which has now disappeared. Fighting cocks from one neighborhood were always on the alert for their rivals in adjoining neighborhoods. The same rivalry extended to schools, to politics and to social life generally. Mr. Tarkington has come dangerously near confusing this aspect of frontier life with the vigilance committee activities of the pioneers. As is well known the vigilance committee practice in dying out degenerated into what in Indiana is called whitecapping. The best men in the community usually constituted the vigilance committee, while the worst could just as surely be

found among the whitecaps. The story is well told, and will preserve for all time a picture of the time when the "fellers" gathered on Saturdays or Sundays at the old mill, or the neighborhood store. *Monsieur Beaucaire* (1900) is a French story; *The Two Vonrevels* (1902) is a love story of the Mexican war period; *Cherry* (1903) is a Pre-Revolutionary tale; *In the Arena* (1905) is a collection of six short stories, all of which deal with politics. The author had just spent a term in the state Assembly where he accumulated these impressions. *The Conquest of Canada* (1905) is a love story with an Indiana background; *The Beautiful Lady* (1905) is an Italian story; *His Own People* (1907) is the story of an American youth who married a "countess" and was glad afterward to get back to his own people. In *The Turmoil* (1915) Tarkington returned to Indianapolis and under the guise of a very beautiful love story he scored the very ugly commercial greed which would sacrifice health, hope, friendship and even love for the sake of mere bigness of accumulation.*

Although Charles Major made his home in Shelbyville, he belongs, geographically and socially, with the Indianapolis group. His father was a native of Ireland, an American lawyer and judge by profession, educated in an English college. Charles Major was born in Indianapolis, May 25, 1856, educated there and at Shelbyville and at the University of Michigan law school. From 1877 till his death, February 13, 1913, he practiced law at Shelbyville.

His first was his most successful venture in novel

* No biography of Mr. Tarkington has been written, nor aside from magazine reviews, has any extended criticism of his work been made. In *The Hoosiers*, 202, and in *Representative Citizens of Indiana* are brief biographies. Charity Dye, *Some Torch Bearers of Indiana*, has good brief characterizations of leading Indiana literary men.

writing, *When Knighthood Was in Flower* (1898), an English story of the time of Henry the Eighth. *The Bears of Blue River*, 1900, is a compound of neighborhood tradition woven together with a simple love story. In *Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall*, the author returned to England. *A Forest Hearth* brings the reader back to pioneer Indiana. Most of his themes have been chosen outside of Indiana. As a novelist he has not dealt largely with Indiana characters and must take his place in the republic of letters as assigned by world critics.

Anna Nicholas, of Indianapolis, has contributed to strictly Indiana literature two small volumes, *The Making of Thomas Barton* (1913), and *An Idyl of the Wabash* (1898). The latter is a collection of ten short stories descriptive of Wabash valley scenes and folks about the time of the Civil war.

Judge Millard Cox, of Indianapolis, has used Morgan's Raid as the setting for a study of border conditions during Civil war times. The story, *The Legionaries*, appeared in 1899. Judge Cox does not draw as dark a picture of the Knights as does Miss Krout in *Knights in Fustian*. The story is almost historical, not only in its leading events, but in the illustrations of broken families and divided neighborhoods.

In the northern part of the state two widely differing authors are finding Hoosier themes for a large and growing body of readers. George Ade is a native and legal resident of Newton county. His father was a pioneer settler and the author of a history of the county (1911). George Ade is a graduate of Purdue. Practically all of his score or so volumes of writings are commentaries on the social life around him, his neighborhood frequently extending to Chicago. As a coiner of words and phrases, of stinging criticism that leaves no sores, he is without

a rival. Such books as *Breaking into Society*, *Fables in Slang*, *People You Know*, and *The Girl Proposition* are rivals of vaudeville.

Gene Stratton Porter made her home at Lumberlost Cabin, near Rome City. In *The Song of the Cardinal*, *Freckles*, *A Girl of the Lumberlost*, *The Harvester*, and *Laddie*, she has preserved the story of the lake and swamp region of northeastern Indiana. Its teeming life of birds, bees, butterflies, flowers, reptiles, noble forests, and silvery lakes flitter and flutter, sing and dance and croon and moan through her pages in a wild debauch of color, sound and odor. Tucked in among the flowers and butterflies there is always a love story carried on more or less after the fashion of human beings and served up with a plentiful supply of adolescent emotionalism.

These are only a few of the more important Indiana workers in the literary field. In *My Youth* (1914), a Quaker story of the middle of the century, located in the vicinity of Indianapolis, Grace Alexander's *Judith*, *A Tale of the Candle-Lit Fifties*; Eleanor Atkinson's *Johnny Appleseed*; Mary Blake's *Heart's Haven*; John Vestal Hadley's *Seven Months a Prisoner*; and Augustus Lynch Mason's *True Stories of Our Pioneers* have each contributed something toward depicting Indiana life and ways, if they have not added much to the general field of literature.

In the field of history, William H. English has produced two volumes entitled *The Conquest of the Country Northwest of the Ohio*, which are the best on that important event. Richard G. Boone has written a *History of Education in Indiana*. Col. W. M. Cockrum, of Oakland City, is the author of a *Pioneer History of Indiana*, and *The Underground Railroad*. Both of these are excellent books, written almost entirely from documents in the author's possession. On the same subject as Colonel Cockrum's last vol-

name is Levi Coffin's *Reminiscences*. The writer was the prince of conductors on the Underground road. Sanford Cox's *Recollections of an Old Settler* deals with the upper Wabash where he was an early settler. Jacob Piatt Dunn, while state librarian, wrote a small volume on territorial Indiana. It covers the same ground previously covered by Dillon. F. C. Holliday is the author of *Indiana Methodism*, a subject later continued by Dr. W. W. Sweet of DePauw. W. F. Scott has written a history of the Baptist church in Indiana; Hanford A. Edson has done a like service for the Presbyterians. Julia Henderson Levering has produced an interesting volume on the state's history, entitled *Historic Indiana*. George B. Lockwood has made a special study of New Harmony in his *The New Harmony Movement*.

In the field of biography R. W. Thomson was a pioneer in his *Personal Recollections of Sixteen Presidents*; William D. Foulke has written a two-volume *Life of Morton*; Charles Moores and Jesse Weik have each written on the life of Lincoln; James A. Woodburn has done a *Life of Thaddeus Stevens*; S. B. Harding wrote a *Life of George B. Smith*; Albert J. Beveridge has completed four volumes of a *Life of John Marshall*, and William W. Woollen has written a volume entitled *Historical and Biographical Sketches of Early Indiana*. Gen. John W. Foster, a native of Pike county and a diplomat of international reputation, has written a *Century of Diplomacy* (1900), *American Diplomacy in the Orient* (1903), and *Diplomatic Memoirs* (1909). Judge Daniel Waita Howe, besides several pamphlets in the *State Historical Society Publications*, has written *The Puritan Republic* (1899), and the *Political History of Secession* (1915). Albert J. Beveridge has lately joined this class with his four large volumes on John Marshall.

In the discussion of Indiana literature it has been troublesome in some instances to decide who were Indiana authors. The line has in most cases been drawn to include only those who have lived and written in the state. Thus narrow interpretation has excluded from discussion the poet William Vaughn Moody (1869-1910), born at Spencer, who at the time of his death was second in rank to no living American poet; also Theodore Dreiser (1871), born at Terre Haute and educated at the state university, who at the present time has a wide reputation both in this country and abroad as a realist. George Barr McCutcheon, the novelist, and his brother, John T. McCutcheon, the cartoonist, and many others of literary note, were born in Indiana. The list is too long to complete.

§ 209 POETRY

Poetry has always had an enchanting power over the Hoosiers. The early papers were filled with it, both imported and indigenous in origin. The old *Western Sun* carried a column headed "Poetic Asylum." No verse was so poor but what a publisher could be found. Each neighborhood had an ample stock of ballads and love songs which were sung on all social occasions with or without provocation. These were sentimental and pathetic. "Barbara Allen," "Sweet William," "Lily Dale," and "The Dying Nun" are typical. Likewise by far the greater part of the poetry of Indiana has this pathetic, sentimental character. It is hardly necessary to state that in most instances the sentiment is overworked.

The early writers of the state found much encouragement at Louisville where George D. Prentice kept the columns of the *Louisville Journal* open to them, and in Cincinnati where the *Saturday Evening*

Chronicle, the *Mirror* and the *Western Literary Journal* kept open house for the poets.

One of the earliest poets of the state to attract public notice was John Finley, a Virginian by birth (1797), and a citizen of Richmond by residence. He was editor of the *Palladium* and mayor of the city for fourteen years. Three years he served in the General Assembly, three years clerk of the state senate and seven years clerk of the circuit court. His "Bachelor Hall," "The Hoosier's Nest" and "To Indiana" are still well known. "The Hoosier's Nest," a short poem in quadrimeter, rhyming couplets, is, doubtless, as well known now as any Indiana poetry except that of Riley. This has no value as poetry, but as a picture of a cabin home is worth preserving. He died in Richmond, 1866.

Contemporary with Finley, though younger, was Sarah T. Bolton (1820-1893). She was a native of Newport, Kentucky, and a resident, most of her mature life, at Indianapolis. She was the poet laureate of the state during the forties and fifties. Her poetry inspired the pioneers of that day, by whom she was highly esteemed. "Paddle Your Own Canoe" served admirably during forty years for the third and fourth grade boys to recite as Friday evening declamations.

Louise Chitwood (1832-1855), of Connersville, wrote a number of poems of sufficient merit to induce Prentice to collect them after the author's death and publish them in a volume. The "Graves of the Flowers" will illustrate the mournful tenderness of her verses and doubtless will be as much as anyone now would care to read. Contemporaries in time and similar in style and sentiment expressed, were Julia Dumont and Amanda Dufour (1822-1899). Though no one now reads them they enjoyed considerable popularity during the decades immediately preced-

ing the Civil war. Sidney Dyer, pastor of the First Baptist church of Indianapolis in the fifties, was the author of two small volumes of poetry, *Voices of Nature and Thoughts in Rhyme* (1849) and *An Olio of Love and Song*, poems read before the Athenian Society of Indiana university, July 31, 1855. John Dillon was also known at this time as a poet. Granville M. Ballard (1833), a graduate of Asbury and a teacher in the Deaf and Dumb asylum of Indianapolis, was a frequent contributor of poetry to the Indianapolis papers just before the Civil war. His most ambitious effort was "The Village Politician."

Perhaps a hundred persons could be named who wrote verses in Indiana before the Civil war. William T. Coggeshall in 1860 published a volume entitled *Poets and Poetry of the West*, in which he included biographical notices and selections of poetry of thirty-four Indianians.*

In his three volumes of *Specimens of American Poetry*, published in 1829, Samuel Kettell found room for no Indiana poet. Seventeen years later Rufus Griswold published his *Prose Writers of America*. In this Indiana is without a representative. In George B. Cheever's *Poets and Poetry of America* (1849), no one from Indiana is included. In the same year Griswold published his *Gift Leaves of*

* The following is his list: Julia L. Dumont, John Finley, John B. Dillon, Noble Butler, William Ross Walliaw, Laura M. Thurston, Geo. W. Cutler, Henry W. Ellsworth, Horace P. Biddle, Sarah T. Bolton, Sidney Dyer, Luella J. B. Case, Amanda Dufour, Peter Plabe Reed, Jonathan W. Gordon, Isaac H. Julian, Mary E. Neely, John G. Dunn, Orpheus Everts, George Y. Welborn, Louisa Esther Vickroy, James Pummell, Frances Locke, Sarah E. Wallace, Elijah Evan Edwards, Louisa Chittwood, William Wallace Harney, Benjamin B. Parker, Granville M. Ballard, John J. Platt, Cornelia W. Laws, Samuel V. Morris, William S. Peterson and Ella Caldwell. Some of these remained in Indiana only a part of their lives.

American Poetry, containing selections from sixty-nine American authors without a single selection from Indiana. In the sixteenth edition (1875) of Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America*, R. A. Stoddard, the editor, has included two Indiana men, John J. Piatt and Forceyth Willson. In Duyckinck's *Cyclopedia of American Literature* (edition of 1881) Indiana is represented by five authors.²² W. H. Venable, in *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley* (1891), mentioned Mrs. Dumont, John Finley, G. W. Cutler, Sarah T. Bolton, and Forceyth Willson.

Edmund Clarence Stedman in his *Poets of America* (1885), in his closing chapter, mentioned Maurice Thompson, John James Piatt and James Whitcomb Riley. These references are sufficient to show that Indiana, up to the close of the Nineteenth century, had attracted very little attention from literary critics. On the other hand, Benjamin S. Parker and Enos B. Heiney, in *Poets and Poetry of Indiana* (1900), have listed no less than one hundred forty-two citizens of the state whom they charge with being poets.

Of all these only one can be noticed here at any length. The poetic sentiment has always been characteristic with Indiana people. Some of the best known of our lawyers, physicians, preachers, farmers, editors and teachers are included in the list of verse-makers mentioned above. In the intervals of professional routine they have turned to poetry as others turn to golf or whist. Many of these occasional poems are beautiful, most are sincere and have been read by thousands with pleasure. Only a few of the people enjoy classical music; the great majority of us prefer rag-time for everyday, home use.

²² These are Baynard R. Hall, Robert Dale Owen, John James Piatt, Edward Eggleston and George C. Eggleston.

A few read Milton for pleasure but the great majority prefer to browse on the lower slopes. The one-hundred-forty wingless bards of Indiana may be heralds of the greater poet of western democracy whose songs shall heat our melting pot to the fusing point.

James Whitcomb Riley is Indiana's strongest candidate for literary immortality. He was born at Greenfield in 1849, the son of Reuben A. Riley, a lawyer and politician of state-wide fame. Both father and mother read and appreciated good literature. The son enjoyed a desultory education somewhat after the type of that of Irving. The circumstances of Riley's early life were such that he learned first hand the customs and characteristics of the Hoosier folk. At his father's office he met and learned the language of the farmers. In his travels with an itinerant doctor, a vendor of patent medicines, he met the ubiquitous small boys that follow the showman; as a traveling sign painter he had further opportunities to study character.

Unlike Eggleston he was irresistibly attracted by the odd characters he met. These characters he took as illustrations of the Hoosier. Each was a bundle of sentiments, the embodiment of a poem. His attitude was invariably sympathetic just as the characters, themselves, had remained sweet through all their vicissitudes. Under his interpretation the rowdy, the bully, the sharp practice men all disappear; not that he never observed such acts but that such acts were neither the usual expression of any right-minded person nor were such persons typical Hoosiers. In this he was historically correct.

Neither the well-to-do, prosperous man, nor the pampered, correct child had much interest for Riley. The person who battled single-handed with adversity, provided he fought fairly and never surrend-

ered, was his hero. Such were the individuals he sought out when he went to a new town and these are the persons for whom he wrote. Their mutual tastes were the final judges as to whether his work was good or not. The old farmer and his wife, who had buffeted the adversities of a half century and could look back from the glow of evening not only to their own childhood but to that of their children, when they came to hear the poet read, received his attention. If they responded with the farmer's laugh, if they slapped their knees, or if the tears trickled down their weather-beaten faces, he knew his shot was near the center. Once when he read about a hunchback, an old couple got up and left the room. On inquiry he learned that they had such a child. He never read the poem again publicly; so careful was he to avoid causing pain.

However, the prevailing sentiment of Riley's literature was pathos. The grinding struggle for existence often crushed out lives. Life itself to him was a sad struggle against adversities. Death is often a visitor among his characters, but it is not the "grim destroyer," the "remorseless tyrant" that breaks up homes and snatches victims unwillingly away. On the contrary, it is a ministering angel, come on a merciful mission to bear away one for whom the struggle had been too hard, a welcome friend come on a friendly visit to summon for a pleasant journey."

Riley understood and appreciated the inherited superstition which lingers in the backbone of every Hoosier. We know there are no spirits abroad at night in the graveyard, but we whistle as we go by; we know it makes no difference, but it is usually con-

²¹ For illustration read "Eccentric Mr. Clark", "The Funny Little Fellow", "Tod", "Jimmy", and "Where is Mary Smith?". Biographical Edition of Riley's Works.

venient to plant our potatoes in the dark of the moon; we know the will-o'-the-wisp is harmless, but nevertheless we are never going its way when it is out traveling. The field of classic mythology was for Riley a barren pasture, but the field of Hoosier superstition, fairy and folk lore yielded bountifully.²⁸

With the healthy, romping children, with the pale-faced, suffering, patient children, with the dirty, frowzy bootblack or newsboy, with the sprite-like children who followed their fancies on most remarkable excursions, and with all other children Riley assumed close kinship. Like sunshine on the rippling water, like the twittering of birds among the young leaves, full of humor, conceits, and fancies are the Riley children. Whether singing or sighing, at play or work, at home or abroad, poor or rich, in health or in sickness, in rags or in ribbons, they are still only children. While he has written considerable of what is generally, though in many cases wrongly, called children's poetry it is not accurate to say this is his best.

Riley at his best is the spokesman for the Indiana farmer. Here his education has served him best. The typical Hoosier is the farmer. Not that the poet has failed to find characters among the lawyers, the doctors, in the cobbler shop, at the country store, around the checker board, at the fairs, in the army and a score of other places, but none of these equal in poetic insight or in historical truthfulness "Benjamin F. Johnson of Boone." Whittier alone of American poets has seen the poetic side of farm life as has Riley, though certainly the quiet Quaker never heard

²⁸ Compare "Tale of a Spider", "An Adjustable Lumatic", "Mary Alice Smith", "The Raggedy Man", "Little Orphan Annie", or the "Nine Little Goblins"

such a riotous rhapsody of farmyard music as did "Mr. Johnson" on that October morning when the "frost was on the punkin and the fodder in the shock." Nothing is heard of the loneliness, the drudgery, the monotony, the hayseediness of farm life in Riley poetry, because these had not yet been experienced when "Benjamin F. Johnson" was speaking. He was the spokesman for the farmers of the fifties, sixties and seventies. The ugly, repulsive side of farming is not overlooked, but the prevailing tint is bright rather than dark."

The poet's love for his native state never failed him. He traveled often and widely but there is no hint of it in his writings. So far as his work is concerned he might as well never have been beyond the borders of Indiana. However he was not narrow nor provincial in the usual acceptance of these terms. He spoke to the world through the language and experience of pioneer Indiana as Burns did through the language and life of Scotland. For this same reason Riley will always be appreciated more in Indiana than elsewhere. He knew the literature of the world, some of it so well that he could successfully imitate it.²² But the world never tempted him from Indiana. He might go as far north as South Bend or as far east as Richmond but not farther. It may be the universal love story, a landscape as beautiful as an Alpine vale, a game of checkers or a bear story; whatever it was, its habitat was Indiana, Indiana realism. His state pride is never offensive,

²² See "The Nest Egg", "George Mullen's Confession", "Thoughts for the Discouraged Farmer", "His Pa's Romance" or a score of others.

²³ See "A Remarkable Man", "Twigs and Tudors", "Lonesome", "Some Imitations" and elsewhere.

nor even obtrusive; he merely constructed his plots out of the familiar material at home.²¹

Much of Riley's writing is done in so-called dialect. The term is not apt. In his poems for, and about children he used the ordinary child language which certainly is not a dialect. The language of the unschooled Hoosiers who speak in his pages defies all the rules of dialect. Its peculiarity does not consist in any consistent misuses either of pronunciation, spelling, meaning or grammar, and least of all in rhetoric. It is the easy, everyday language of the facile farmer. Unlike Lowell, in the *Bigelow Papers*, Riley never permits his rustics to discuss questions they do not understand. Their language was as natural and easy for Riley as for the characters he created. It is not a matter of study on his part. On the other hand, when he chose, Riley was a master of English as pure and limpid as the crystal rill that trickled through the old springhouse.

It is not necessary to compare Riley with other poets. Whether he was greater than Whittier or equal to Burns, may be amusing considerations but the larger questions are the honesty and reality of his appeal. One fact certainly is established, thousands of persons have enjoyed and admired the "Rubaiyat of Doc Sifers" who have never read any other Rubaiyat.²²

²¹ See "Old Indiana" "A Child's Home Long Ago", or "Pap's Come Back to Indiana".

²² No authoritative biography of Riley has yet appeared. In the Biographical Edition of His Works, Vol. I, 267, is a short sketch of his life. In *Famous Living Americans*, 285, there is a brief biography and bibliography by Anna Nicholas. Many of his prose sketches are biographical. See, also, *Book News Monthly*, March, 1907; *Ladies' Home Journal*, January, 1902; *Bookman*, March, 1911; Mabel Potter Daggett, in *Lockerbie Street*; Clara C. Laughlin, *Reminiscences of Riley*; John A. Howland, James Whit-

comb *Riley in Prose and Picture*; Riley, *The Boss Girl and Other Sketches*. He died at Indianapolis, July 22, 1916. In the daily papers and magazines of the period following his death are numerous articles, both biographical and critical. Selections from his letters, edited by Edmund Eitel, are published in *Harper's Magazine* beginning with December, 1917. The above discussion relates to Mr. Riley literarily; literally, he was not exactly what one would call a philanthropist. He is not known to have worried more about the wrongs and sufferings of mankind than literary persons in general do. He had about the same affection for children as other bachelors of similar age.

INDEX

- Ade, George, 1133.
 Agricultural development, 323.
 Agricultural education, 641.
 Amusements of pioneers, 533.
 Architecture of public buildings, 986.
 Army organization, U. S., 1034.
 Ashbury College, 988, 1012, 1014, 1111.
 Automobiles, 1048.

 "Battle of Pogue's Run," 783.
 Beveridge, Albert J., 1042, 1114, 1135.
 Blackford, Judge Isaac, 1140, 1114.
 Board of Education, state, 636, 928, county, 712, 920.
 Bolton, Sarah T., 1137.
 Border raids, 767, 771.
 Bounties and drafts, 760.
 Breaking land, 573.
 Butler college, 933, 1012.

 Campaign of 1854, 642.
 Care of dependents, 309.
 Central Normal College, 1044.
 Church re-alignments in the fifties, 574.
 Churches in the fifties, 573.
 Cities of Indiana, 960; population of, 1850-1910, 950, rise of the, 974, development, 982; charters, some early, 967.
 City School Superintendents, 924.
 Civil War, opposition to, 778.
 Civil War politics, 610.
 Civil War, the, 738.
 Clays, 304.
 Clearing land, early, 573.
 Coal, 900.
 Coeducation, 1012.
 Coercion or secession, 667.
 Colfax, Schuyler, 666, 963.
 Colleges, 988, early attendance, 933, sectarianism, 939, classical education, 944, society, 995; politics, 998; changing curriculum, 1001; religion at the, 1011; coeducation, 1012; law schools, 1014; medical schools, 1015, graduate schools, 1017, college unity, 1017.
 Commercial development, 1021.
 Commercial schools, 1008.
 Common schools, early conditions, 479, creating school sentiment, 682, early convention in interest of, 684; legislation for, 691, 706, 710, 711; development of, 692, organization, 695, funds 694, 699, 701; statistics of, 702, state system, 916, 947.
 Community organizations, 972.
 Corrupt Practices Law, 1048.
 Cotton mills, early, 1023.
 Counties, population of, 1840-60, 604, vote in 1854-6, 643, vote in 1840, 862; vote on free schools, 659.
 County Institutes, 935.
 County Superintendent, 917.
 Crittenden Compromise, 673.
 Crops, early, 832.
 Crops in the fifties, 686.
 Curriculum of common schools, 941.

 Debs, Eugene V., 1043, 1114.
 Democratic party, 364, 953.
 Dependents, care of, 309.
 Dillon, John B., 1130.
 Disabled soldiers, state debt to, 810.
 District school, the, 695.
 Drafts and bounties, 760.
 Dress in the fifties, 586.
 Durbin, Gov. Winfield T., 1044, 1042.

 Earlham College, 988.
 "Eclipse," the river steamer, 536.
 Economic changes in the fifties, 535.
 Education, 479.
 Eggleston, Edward, 1116.
 Eggleston, George Cary, 1121.

- Election of 1854, 634; 1860, 460; 1864, 798, 1876, 875, 1892, 1053; 1904, 1057; 1912, 1063.
 Employers' liability, 1037.
 English, William H., 965, 968, 1134.
 Enlistments in 1861, 676.
 Fairbanks, Charles W., 364, 1065.
 Farm implements, 834, 851; land, extent of, 1860, 325; statistics, 1850-60, 845, stock, 838.
 Feeble-minded, School for the, 815.
 Female educational institutions, 1012.
 Fences, early rail, 577.
 Field Crops, 832.
 Fifteenth Amendment, passage of, 808.
 Finley, John, 1137.
 Forest land, extent of, 1860, 835.
 Fort Sumter, Indiana's response to, 738.
 Foster, Gen. John W., 1136.
 Foulke, William D., 1135.
 Free schools vote on, 693.
 Franklin College, 969.
 Fruits, 818.
 Gardening, 837.
 Gas, natural, 911.
 Geological surveys, 888.
 German immigrants in Indiana, 430.
 Golden Circle, Knights of the, 778.
 Goodrich, Gov. James P., 1064, 1091, 1093.
 Graduate schools, 1017.
 Grangers, 852, 862, 870, 1049.
 Gray, Gov. Isaac P., 958.
 Greenbackers, 869, 873, 968, 957.
 Grenham, Walter Q., 960.
 Hall, Baynard Rush, 1115.
 Hanly, Gov. J. Frank, 1063, 1114.
 Hanover College, 1010.
 Harrison, Benjamin, 480, 378, 953, 954, 960, 962, 965, 1054, 1114.
 Hay, 836.
 Haynes, Elwood, 1045.
 Hemp, 837.
 Hendricks, Thomas A., 657, 662, 678, 858, 955, 980, 963.
 Hogs, 830.
 Home life in the fifties, 575.
 Horses, 830.
 Housing laws, 1042.
 Hovey, Gov. Alvin P., 700, 961, 1124.
 Howe, Judge Daniel Waite, 1124.
 Illiteracy in the fifties, 604, 607.
 Immigration into the Ohio Valley, 629.
 Indiana, a political battleground, 963.
 Indiana Boys' School, 818.
 Indiana Educational Society, 484.
 Indiana in the fifties, 573.
 Indiana Legion, the, 765.
 Indiana University, 1003, 1005, 1012, 1013, 1015.
 Indianapolis, pioneer railroad, 718, first charter, 970, early conditions, 971; changes in charter, 977; railroad donation, 978, population, 980; early commerce, 984.
 Individualism of the pioneers, 676, 600.
 Industrial centers, 1027.
 Industrial education, 944.
 Industrial legislation, 1035.
 Industrial School for Girls, 815.
 Irish immigrants in Indiana, 429.
 Iron interests, 896.
 Kansas question, 815, 842, 652.
 Kern, John W., 962, 1056.
 Knights of the Golden Circle, 778.
 Know Nothings, 619, 627, 843.
 Kroat, Caroline, 1128.
 Labor legislation, 1035.

- Labor troubles, 1072.
 Lagrange Phalanx, 872.
 Lane, H. B., 644, 656, 659, 661, 666, 1112.
 Law schools, 1014.
 Legislation as to municipalities, 967.
 Libraries, township, 707.
 Limestone, 907.
 Liquor traffic, early opposition to, 590, 613; legislation on, 614.
 Literary history, 1062.
 Live stock, 823.

 Major, Charles, 1122.
 Manufacturers, early, 1021.
 Marshall, Gov. Thomas, 964, 1065.
 Matthews, Gov. Claude, 1054.
 Medical schools, 1015.
 Mental Traits, early, 600.
 Mexican Border, Indiana troops on, 1084.
 Michigan City, charter of, 949; population, 931.
 Military history since the Civil War, 1070.
 Militia, State, 1072.
 Mills, Caleb, 683-4, 695, 707, 836, 998.
 Mine inspection law, 903.
 Minerals of Indiana, 884.
 Mining, 882.
 Moody, William Vaughn, 1126;
 Moores Hill College, 989.
 Morals in the fifties, 589.
 Morgan's Raid, 771.
 Morton, Oliver P., 637, 641, 644, 645, 652, 663, 664, 674, 677, 740, 741, 746, 798, 820, 857, 881.
 Mount, Gov. James A., 1054, 1079.

 National candidates from Indiana, 983.
 National Guard, 1077.
 Natural gas, 911.
 Negro Emfranchisement, 805, 808.
 Negroes, public education of, 809.
 Negroes, status of, 1250, 610.

 New Albany, early commerce, 935.
 Newspapers, 696, 1098.
 Nicholson, Meredith, 1128.
 Normal Schools, 931, 1001.
 Northern Indiana Normal, 1004.
 Notre Dame University, 922, 1014.

 Oats, 824.
 Oil, 913.
 Oolitic limestone, 907.
 Oratory, 1109.
 Organizing the army, 1861, 739.
 Owen, David Dale, 326, 532, 597.
 Owen, Robert Dale, 469, 592, 742.

 Panic of 1874, 843.
 Parke, Benjamin, 1099, 1100.
 Partisanship in 1880, 665.
 Patriotism in 1860, 665.
 Petroleum, 912.
 Philosophy of the pioneer, 602.
 Pioneer larder, 579.
 Pioneer philosophy, 602.
 Pioneer railroad of Indiana, 717; other early roads, 719; the builders, 733.
 Pioneer, individualism of the, 576.
 Pioneers, physique of the, 582.
 Plank roads, 839.
 Poetry, 1136.
 Political progress, 1067.
 Political reformers, 872.
 Political revolts, 856.
 Politics during Civil War, 792.
 Population, 1840-40, 604.
 Populists, 1047.
 Porter, Gov. Albert G., 660, 954.
 Porter, Gene Stratton, 1124.
 Potatoes, 837.
 Press, the, 598, 1098.
 Progressive party, 1060.
 Prohibition, early agitation for, 613; statewide, 1065.
 Property valuations in the fifties, 585.
 Press writers, 1114.
 Public Accounting Law, 1042.

- Public health in the fifties, 591; in later years, 1041.
 Purdue University, 1007, 1016.
 Pure Food and Drug act, 1044.
 Quakers, abstinence of, 514.
 Rail Fences, early, 577.
 Railroads, 715, 849.
 Ralston, Gov. Samuel M., 1052.
 Reading Circle, 938.
 Reconstruction of political parties, 519.
 Reconstruction period, 792.
 Reform Schools, 311.
 Religious debates, 575.
 Religious thought in the fifties, 573.
 Reorganization after the Civil War, 1041.
 Republican party, 355, 353, 957.
 Republican party, birth of in Indiana, 639.
 Republicans, Liberal, 856.
 Richmond, charter of, 943; population, 981.
 Riley, James Whitcomb, 1139.
 Road building, 839.
 Road laws, 1045.
 Rose Polytechnic Institute, 1007.
 Rye, 837.
 Salem, charter of, 947.
 Salt, 832.
 School administration, 913.
 School funds, 694; distribution of, 694, 701, 708.
 School houses in 1852, 697.
 School law of 1861, 709; of 1865, 710; of 1873, 711.
 School sanitation, 1043.
 School statistics, 1916, 950.
 School supervision, 921.
 School system, 679.
 School taxes resisted, 706.
 Schools and the Courts, 709.
 Shakertown, 972.
 Sheep, 831.
 Slave hunting, 634.
 Slavery, 610.
 Social gatherings, early, 592.
 Socialists, 1055.
 Society in the fifties, 587.
 Soil, care of the, 828.
 Soldiers Home, First, 810.
 Soldiers in the Civil War, 764.
 Soldiers' relief, 793.
 Spanish-American War, 1072.
 State Board of Agriculture, 822.
 State Board of Health, 1041.
 State debt, 1865, 317.
 State fairs, 844.
 State government, breakdown of, 676.
 State Militia, 1073.
 State Normal School, 1002.
 State school system, 918, 947.
 State Teachers' Association, 938.
 State's rights after the war, 819.
 Street railways, 1044.
 Strikes, 1072.
 Superintendent of Public Instruction, 695, 921.
 Superstitious and signs, early, 601.
 Swamp lands, 621.
 Swine, 830.
 Tariff, Indiana and the, 953.
 Tarkington, Booth, 1131.
 Tax system, 817; revision of laws, 818.
 Teachers' Associations, 938.
 Teachers' Reading Circle, 938.
 Temperance agitation, early, 613.
 Thirteenth Amendment, Passage of, 805.
 Thompson, James Maurice, 1123.
 Thompson, Richard W., 641, 672, 1103, 1135.
 Tobacco, 837.
 Towns, special charters for, 967.
 Township government, 1859, 1041.
 Township institutes, 937.
 Township libraries, 708.
 Township trustees, 696.
 Transportation, 1044.
 Transportation schemes, early, 716.
 Travel in the fifties, 596.
 Treason trials, 790.

- Troops in the Civil War, 764.
 Truancy Law, 950.
 Turple, David, 657, 662.
 Underground Railroad, 622.
 Valparaiso University, 1004.
 Vincennes, charter of, 968;
 population, 981.
 Vocational schools, 947.
 Voorhees, Daniel W., 653, 660,
 866, 881, 1103, 1112.
 Vote in 1854 and 1856, 643.
 Vote in 1860, 662.
 Wabash College, 927, 1003,
 1010.
 Wage-earners, 1909, 1030.
 Wallace, Gen. Lew, 653, 1076,
 1121.
 Wealth in the fifties, 585.
 Wheat, 834.
 Whig party, death of, 637.
 Willard, Gov. Ashbel P., 646,
 650.
 Williams, Gov. James D., 839,
 848, 876, 1005.
 Woman's prison, 815.
 Woman's rights, 632.
 Woman's sphere in pioneer
 life, 520.
 Women wage-earners, protec-
 tion of, 1059.
 Women's work in the Civil
 War, 794.
 Workmen's compensation, 1038.
 World War, Indiana in the,
 1090.
 Wright, Gov. Joseph A., 616,
 637, 651, 736, 822, 840, 843,
 1006.

